

~~July 27/11~~ THE ~~July 9/11~~
HISTORY
OF THE
~~IN~~ INQUISITION,
AS IT IS
Exercised at GOA,
In the EAST-INDIES,
Under the Dominion of the KING of PORTUGAL.

Written in FRENCH by
Monsieur DELLO N,
Who laboured Five Years under the Severities
of that INQUISITION.

WITH
An Account of his Deliverance.

Translated into ENGLISH.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS History of the Inquisition at Goa, was translated by the Rev. Mr Henry Wharton, Chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, and was first printed in the Year 1688.

A Licence for printing it being refused by Sir Roger L'Estrange, on Pretence of it's being against the King's Religion, the Bookseller printed it with a Translation of the French King's Licence, and was immediately taken into Custody, and the Impression seized.

But

But the Refusal of a Licence in a Protestant Kingdom, to a Book which was licensed in a Popish one, giving great Uneasiness to the Public, it was suffered to be published, and several Editions were sold under a *Tacit Licence*, as it was called, which was not permitted to be printed to the Book.

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RELATION OF THE Inquisition of G O A.

C H A P. I.

Motives which induced me to publish this Relation.

AL L the world knows in general what the Inquisition is, and that it is established in certain places, as *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*; and most of the countries, which depend upon them, and that the judges, which possess it, exercise with much severity upon the people subject to them, a judicature unheard of to other tribunals. It is moreover known, that this rigour is not every where equal; for the Inquisition of *Spain* is more severe than that of *Italy*, and less severe than that of *Portugal*, and the States depending on it.

The maxims of this strange judicature may be found in printed books, together with the examination of those maxims, and the effects of them on divers occasions; but I know none, who hath given himself the liberty to tell us what passeth in the recesses of this Tribunal. The officers of this judicature are too much interested in its conservation to discover the secrets of it; and as for those, who have had to do with these magistrates, and their inferiour officers, they are informed of what is there practised, and have had some reason to complain of it: the fear of those terrible punishments,

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ments, that are carefully inflicted upon those, who shall be convicted not to have kept their oath of secrecy (which is extorted from them before they are set at liberty) renders the mysteries of the Inquisition so impenetrable, that it is almost impossible ever to learn the truth, unless to him, who hath the unhappiness to be carried into her prisons, and experience them in his own person ; or to those, who are instructed by any one, who had the happiness not to sink under so great a tryal. Moreover, it is necessary that he, who hath been shut up in the horrible solitudes of the holy office, should take care, during his imprisonment, diligently to observe what passed ; and after his enlargement, have the courage to relate without any fear, what himself hath learned and experienced.

These are the reasons, that very few persons truly know what passeth in that terrible tribunal ; and as after the obligation of rendering to God what we owe to him, there is no duty more pressing than that of serving our neighbour, and especially the publick, I thought myself obliged to relate what I have suffered, and what I observed in the prisons of the Inquisition at *Goa* ; adding to it what I learned from credible persons, whom I knew familiarly during the time of my imprisonment, and after my enlargement.

I doubted a long time, whether I ought to publish this Relation ; for it is more than eight years since I returned into *France*, and it is more than four since this Relation was writ. I feared to scandalize the holy office, and violate my oath ; and this fear was confirmed in me by pious, but timorous persons, who were of the same opinion as myself ; but other persons no less pious, and who seemed to me more rational, at last convinced me, that it concerned the publick upon many accounts to know this tribunal well ; that this relation might be useful even to the ministers of the holy office, if they knew how to profit by it ; and much more to those, who have a right to regulate the proceedings, and limit the jurisdiction of it. And as for the oath of secrecy, so unjustly extorted, as that is, which the Inquisition extorteth under pain of burning ; the publick good sufficiently dispenseth with it, to set at liberty the conscience of him who took it ; and consequently puts him under a kind of obligation to relate what he knoweth.

These are the reasons, which hindered me from publishing this relation before, and those, which now engage me to publish it at present : if the delay of it hath deprived the publick

publick of an useful knowledge, at least it will serve to assure me, that I have precipitated nothing, and that the resentment of those ill treatments, which I suffered, had no share in this account. In fine, what I here say of the Inquisition of *Goa*, is to be understood of those also of *Portugal* and *Spain*; for although this last be less cruel than the other two, upon this account, that those publick executions, which they call *acts of faith*, are here less frequent; and that there is a greater ignorance in the *Indies* than in *Portugal*, we see nevertheless by the relation, which the *Gazette of France* has given the 12th of *August*, 1680. that the same spirit, the same rules, and the same rigour, reign in all the executions of the Inquisition in all these countries; forasmuch as there are, even in the relation of the *Gazette*, circumstances much more terrible than those of the *act of faith*, which I underwent.

C H A P. II.

The apparent causes of my imprisonment.

I HAD stayed at *Daman*, a town of the *East-Indies*, possessed by *Portuguese*, to refresh myself a little from the fatigues, which I had suffered in my voages, and that I might put myself into a condition of continuing my travels: but in the same place, where I had hoped to have found rest, I found the beginning of much greater troubles, than all those, which I had hitherto experienced. The true cause of all the persecutions, which the Ministers of the Inquisition made me endure, was an ill-grounded jealousy of the Governour of *Daman*. It is not hard to judge, that this reason was never alledged in my process: yet to satisfy the passion of this Governour, they made use of divers pretexts; and they found at last the means of seizing me, and removing me from the *Indies*, where perhaps otherwise I had passed the rest of my days.

It must be acknowledged, that although these pretexts, of which they made use, were very weak for persons instructed in the fait, or in the law; they were nevertheless too sufficient for such persons, as the *Portuguese* are, in respect of their prejudices and maxims. Insomuch as upon this account I thought them myself so plausible, that I discovered not the true reasons of my detainment, till the sequel of the affair.

The first occasion, which I gave to my enemies, to make use of the Inquisition to destroy me, was a discourse, which I had with an *Indian* monk, a divine of the order of St. *Dominick*. But before I proceed any farther, I must premise, that although my manners have not always been conformable to the holiness of that religion wherein I was baptized, I have yet been always strongly addicted to the religion of my forefathers, I mean to that of the Catholick, Apostolick and *Roman* Church ; and that God hath given to me more affection to the instructions, which are received in it, than the greatest part of Christians ordinarily have. Consequently I have always taken pleasure both to hear and read ; and I never read any thing with so much diligence, as the Holy Scriptures, as well of the Old, as of the New Testament, which I commonly carry about with me. I had also taken care not to be ignorant of school-divinity ; because in long travels there is a necessity of continual conversation with all sorts of people ; among whom may be found some of all religions and sects : and I freely disputed with Hereticks and Schismaticks, whom I found in my way. I carried with me books fit for this purpose, and, among others, an abridgment of Divinity, writ by Father *Dom Peter de St. Joseph, a Feuillant* ; and I was sufficiently instructed by discourse, and reading, during my great leisure at sea, and the stay which I made in divers places of the *Indies*. I thought myself then in a condition of conversing, or even disputing with protest Divines, and I fell very innocently into the snare in talking with this Monk.

I lodged with the *Dominicans*, because of those earnest desires, which they had made to me ; and I lived with them with much kindness and familiarity. I had served them also upon divers occasions in acknowledgment of the honour, which they did me in desiring my company, and in return of their friendship, which they testified to me. We were oft-times in dispute, and that which I had with the aforesaid Monk, was concerning the effects of Baptism : We both agreed in the three species of Baptism, which the Catholick Church acknowledgeth, and it was only in way of discourse, and not that I doubted of it, that I would deny the effect of that Baptism, which they call *Flaminis* ; and to maintain my opinion, I alledged that passage, *Whosoever is not born again of Water and of the Holy Ghost, &c.* Nevertheless, I had scarce ended my discourse, but the good Father retired, without answering one word,

as if he had some pressing business ; and went, according to all appearance, to inform against me to the Commissary of the Holy Office. I afterwards discoursed several times with this same Monk ; and as he testified no coldness towards me, I was far from believing he had done to me so bad an office.

I was oftentimes present in the assemblies, where they carry about little Trunks, upon which is painted the Image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of some other Saint. The Portuguese are wont to kiss the Image, which is upon this Trunk ; and those, who have devotion to these Confraternities, put their alms into these boxes. Here it is free to give any thing, or not ; but none can omit kissing the Image, without giving scandal to the company. I was not then above twenty-four years old, and I had not all the prudence requisite to a person, who lives among strangers, to whose customs it is fit to conform as much as may be ; and as I was not then used to these sorts of ceremonies, I refused oft-times to take and kiss these Boxes ; from whence they rashly inferred, that I contemned the Images, and consequently that I was an Heretick.

I was with a Portuguese gentleman, on a time when he was about to let his sick son blood : and I saw this young man had in his bed the Image of the Holy Virgin made of ivory : as he loved this Image extremely, he kissed it often, and addressed his speech to it. This way of honouring Images is very usual among the Portuguese ; and it created some uneasiness, in me, because in effect the Hereticks interpreting it ill, this hinders them as much as any thing from returning to the Church. I said then to this young man, that if he did not take heed, his blood would fly upon the Image ; and he answered me, That he could not find in his heart to lay it by. I represented to him, that this would hinder the operation. Then he reproached me, that the French were Hereticks, and that they adored not Images : To which I answered, That I believed we ought to honour them ; and that if it were permitted to use the word *adore*, yet this ought only to be in respect of our Lord Jesus Christ : in which case also it were necessary, that this adoration should be referred to Jesus Christ, represented by these Images : and for this I cited the Council of Trent, Session 25. It happened about the same time, that one of my neighbours coming to visit me, and seeing a crucifix upon my pillow, said to me, Sir, remember to cover this Image, if

by chance you take any woman into bed to you, and to take heed of it. How is it, said I, that you imagine by this means to hide your self from the eyes of God ? Are you of the mind of those debauched women, which are among you, who after they have shut up their chaplets and boxes of reliques, believe they may without any crime abandon themselves to all excesses : Go, Sir, have more noble thoughts of the Deity, and think not, that a little linnen can hide our sins from the eyes of God, who seeth even the secrets of our heart. In fine, what is this crucifix, but a piece of ivory ? We stopt there, and my neighbour having withdrawn, acquitted himself very well of his pretended duty in going to accuse me to the Commissary of the Inquisition. For it is to be known, that all persons living in countries subject to the jurisdiction of this holy office are obliged under pain of the greater excommunication, referred to the grand Inquisitor, to declare within the space of thirty days, all that they have seen to be done, or heard to be spoke, touching the cases, of which that tribunal takes cognizance. And because many people might slight this punishment, or doubt whether they have actually incurred it, to oblige people to obey this order punctually, the Inquisitors decree, that those, who fail in making this declaration within the time limited by the Constitutions, shall be esteemed guilty, and consequently punished, as if themselves had committed the crimes, which they did not reveal : which causeth, that in the matter of the Inquisition, friends betray friends, fathers their children, and children, by an indiscreet zeal, forget all the respect, which God and nature oblige them to bear to those, who gave them life.

The obstinacy, which I shewed in refusing to wear a chaplet about my neck, contributed no less to make them believe I was an Heretick, than my refusal to kiss the Images ; but that, which served above all the rest as a motive to my imprisonment, and my condemnation, was, that being pressed in company, where a discourse was raised concerning the justice of men, I said, that it much less deserved that name, than the name of injustice ; that men judging only according to appearances, which are too often deceitful, were subject to make very inequitable judgments ; and that God alone knowing things as they are, there is none but God, who can truly be called just. One of those, before whom I spake, took me up, and told me, that generally speaking, what I advanced was true ; that

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nevertheless there was this distinction to be made, that if true justice were not to be found in *France*, they had this advantage above us, that among them might be found a Tribunal, whose decrees were no less just, and no less infallible, than those of Jesus Christ. I then understanding very well, that he meant the Inquisition, answered, Think you, that the Inquisitors are less men and less subject to their passions than other Judges? Speak not so, answered this zealous defender of the Holy Office; if the Inquisitors sitting upon the Tribunal are infallible, it is because the Holy Ghost presides over their decisions. I could no longer bear a discourse, which appeared so unreasonable to me; and to prove to him by an example, that the Inquisitors were nothing less than what he pretended, I related to him the adventure of Father *Ephraim de Nevers*, a Capuchin and Apostolick Missionary into the *Indies*, who, as *Monsieur de la Boulaye le Gou* relateth in the history of his travels, was arrested by the Inquisition purely out of envy, about seventeen years before, where they had kept him and very ill treated him for a long time; and I concluded with telling him, that I made no doubt, that this Monk was more virtuous and learned than those, who had kept him thus in prison, without so much as permitting him to read his Breviary. I added, that I esteemed *France* happy in refusing ever to admit this severe Tribunal, and I thought myself so, in not being subject to its jurisdiction. This discourse failed not to be exactly related to the Father Commissary; and this, added to what I have already said, served afterwards to make my process.

C H A P. III.

Of the visit, which I made to the Commissary of the Inquisition to accuse myself, and ask advice of him.

NOtwithstanding the inviolable secrecy, which the Inquisition exacteth by oath of all those, who approach her Tribunals, I failed not to have some notice of the depositions, which were made against me. The apprehension of falling into the hands of the Holy Office made me go to find out the Commissary, from whom I hoped for counsel and protection, because I had been recommended to him by persons, who deserved, that consideration should be had of them; and because all the time I had been at *Daman*,

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he had always affected to be accounted one of my friends. I therefore fairly related to him, how things had passed ; and prayed him to instruct me in what manner I should behave myself for the future, assuring him, that as I had never any ill design, so I was ready to amend myself, and even to recant, if he should judge, that I had advanced any thing, which was not convenient. This Father assured me, that my proceeding had given scandal to many people ; that he was satisfied, that my intention had not been ill ; and that there was nothing in all that I had said absolutely criminal ; that nevertheless he advised me to accommodate myself a little to the fashion of the people, and not to speak so freely of those sorts of matters, and above all of Images, which I had often said ought not to be adored, which I had endeavoured to prove by citations out of the Scriptures and the Fathers. That the people were in truth in some slight errors, which passed for a true devotion ; but that it was not for me to undertake to correct and reform them.

I thanked the Commissary for the good advice, which he had given me, and returned very well satisfied ; since I knew, that having accused myself before I was arrested, I could not, according to the laws of the Inquisition, be any more accused. I was besides very well satisfied of the justice and integrity of this Commissary, because that having not found me guilty, he had given me all necessary advice for my future conduct with so much prudence : so that I could not any longer entertain the least shadow of suspicion against myself.

C H A P. IV.

Containing the true causes of my imprisonment, and how they arrested me.

ALthough all that I have laid down in the foregoing chapters, was sufficient to destroy me, according to the maxims of the Inquisition, and the custom of the country ; yet things had not gone on so far, or so hastily, if the Governor of Daman, called *Manuel Furtado de Mendoza*, had not been incited with that jealousy, which I before mentioned ; which he dissembled so well, that he seemed to be one of my friends ; yet underhand he vigorously solicited the Commissary of the Holy Office to write to Goa to the Inquisitors, to inform them of the discourse, which I had

had held, resolving not to lose the occasion, which I had unadvisedly given him, of making sure of me, and removing me from *Daman* for ever. The reason of the jealousy of this Governour was the frequent but innocent visits, which I paid to a Lady, whom he loved, and by whom he was but too much beloved ; which I then was ignorant of ; and as he judged by slender appearances, he apprehended, that I was more beloved by her than himself.

A certain Black Priest, Secretary of the Holy Office, lodged over-against this Lady ; he had for her no less strong a passion than the Governour, and had solicited her to satisfy his infamous desires, even in the Tribunals of Penance, as the Lady herself assured me. This Priest observing me, became as jealous as the Governour ; and although till then he had been one of my friends, and that I had also done him very important services, yet he join'd *Manuel Furtado* to oppress me.

These two Rivals thus united pressed the Commissary so vigorously, that upon the advice, which he sent at their solicitation to *Goa*, he received order from the Inquisition to arrest me, which was performed the evening of the 24th of *August*, 1673, as I was returning from visiting a Lady of great worth, called *Sennora dona Francisca Percira*, wife of one of the chief gentlemen of the town, called *Manuel Peixote de Gama*. This lady was about sixty years old ; she thought herself obliged to me for the life of her eldest daughter, and of her grand-daughter. And in truth, I had been so happy as not to be unserviceable to her. The eldest had fallen sick in the absence of her mother, and the imprudence of a Pandite, or *Indian Physician* had reduced her to the last extremity. When I was called, I took in hand this sick person, and cured her ; the mother being returned, and transported with joy for the cure of her beloved daughter, her grand-daughter, who was yet more dear to her, fell also sick, and that more dangerously than her aunt : nevertheless, I was not called at first to see this young patient, nor had they any recourse to me till her life was in a desperate condition. I found her in a very violent fever, and although she was at the point of falling into a phrenzy, the *Indian Physician*, far from thinking of letting her blood, had covered her head with pepper, which I caused first to be taken off, and undertaking the cure, succeeded very well, so that my patient recovered in a few days perfect

health. From that time this Lady seeking occasions of demonstrating her gratitude loaded me with presents ; and desiring that I would lodge near her, she had given me an house over-against her own. This was the same day, which I before mentioned, wherein she had given me this house ; and I departed from this generous Lady to return in the evening to my own lodgings ; when the Criminal Judge of the town, called in *Portuguese Ouvidor do Crime*, came to me, and commanded me to follow him into prison ; whither I was carried without being able to learn of him by what order he did this, till I was shut up in prison.

How great soever my surprize was, when the Judge arrested me, yet as I was conscious of my own innocence, but above all because I imagined, that I was seized upon some slight occasion ; I hoped, with sufficient probability, that *Manuel Furtado*, who had always professed much friendship towards me, would not permit, that I should stay so much as one night in prison. But when he, who carried me thither, told me, that it was by order of the Inquisition, my astonishment was so great, that I remained for some time immovable : at last, having a little recollect-ed myself, I desired to speak with the Commissary ; but to heighten my misfortune, they told me, that he had departed that very day for *Goa* ; so that there remained to me no other comfort, than the hope, which every one gave me, that I should be very shortly set at liberty ; because the Holy Office was not only equitable, but inclined very much to mercy, especially towards those, who acknowledged their fault betimes, without being a long while follicited to do it.

All these fine words hindered not my unhappines from becoming very sensible to me ; and the sight of my friends, who failed not to come and comfort me, far from comforting, served only more extremely to afflict me, by the comparison, which I made of their condition to my own. As I had no enemies but secret ones, they easily mixed themselves among my best friends : The Governour and the Black Priest, who desired nothing so much as my removal, knew admirably well how to dissemble their hatred and their jealousy ; the first by sending to me the officer of his house, to assure me of the sorrow, which he felt from my misfor-tune, and to offer all possible assistance to me ; the other by coming to the grate, to shed some false tears, which joy, rather than compassion, drew from him.

C H A P. V.

Description of the prison of Daman. I writ to the Inquisitors, who returned me no answer. Extreme misery of the prisoners.

THE prison of *Daman* is lower than the river, which is near to it, which makes it moist and unhealthy ; and it wanted but little of being overflowed some years since, by a hole, which the prisoners had made under the wall, to escape thereby. The walls are very thick. The prison consists of two large low rooms, and one upper one. The men are in the lower, the women in the upper room. Of the two lower rooms, the greater is above forty foot long, and fifteen broad, and the other two thirds of this extent. We were in this space of ground about forty prisoners, and there was no other place to satisfy the ordinary necessities of nature but that. While I staid in this prison, the care whch I took to have it cleansed, rendered it a little less horrible ; but although I often caused even fifty pitchers of urine to be cast out in one day, yet the stink ceased not to be very great.

Scarce was I shut up in this sad dwelling, but making a serious reflexion upon my unhappiness, I easily discovered the cause, and resolved to forget nothing, which might contribute to my enlargement. My friends continually told me, That my best and readiest way to recover my liberty, was to confess voluntarily, and at large, what I thought had procured my ruin. Being willing therefore to make use of their advice, I writ to *Goa* to the Grand Inquisitor, who is called in *Portuguese*, *Inquisidor mor* : I ingenuously declared to him in my letter, all that I believed I could have been accused of ; and desired him to consider, that if I had failed, it was rather through levity and imprudence, than malice. My letter was delivered faithfully ; but contrary to my hope and the desire of my friends, they returned no answer to me, but suffered me to languish in this stinking and obscure prison, in the company of divers Negroes ; who, as well as I, were arrested by order of the Holy Office.

The charitable care, which *Donna Francisca* took of me all the time that I stay'd prisoner at *Daman*, rendered my captivity a little more supportable. This generous Lady

contented not herself to send me what was necessary, but I received every day from her wherewith to maintain abundantly and delicately four persons. She herself took the trouble of dressing my meat, and always sent along with the slave, who brought the meat, some of her grand-children, who might see me receive it ; fearing lest any one should suborn her domesticks or the jaylor to poison me. And although she could not come in person to comfort me in the prison, she took care, that her husband, her children, or her sons-in-law should come every day.

It was not so with the other prisoners ; there is no regulated subsistence for them at *Daman* : the Magistrates leave them to the charity of whoever have a mind to relieve them : And as there were in the whole town but two persons, who sent them meat duly twice a week ; the greatest part of the prisoners receiving nothing upon other days, they were reduced to so deplorable a misery, that this contributed not a little to render mine the greater. I gave all that I could spare from my own subsistence ; yet there were some of those unhappy persons, who were separated from us by a wall, who were forced by hunger to live upon their own excrements. Upon this occasion I learned, that some years before, about fifty *Malabar* pirates being taken and shut up in this room, the horrible famine, which they suffered, cast more than forty of them into such a despair, that they strangled themselves with the linnen of their turbants. The extremity, which those poor people endured, who were with me, created much compassion in me, which induced me to write to the Governour, and to the chief men of the town, who after that were so charitable, as to send maintenance to these miserable victims of the Holy Office.

C H A P. VI.

The return of the Father Commissary. They remove me to Goa.

THE Commissary had not found me criminal in that confession, which I had made to him of my own accord, as I before said ; and although I had been so, yet ought I to remain free according to the laws of the Inquisition. But as this was not the intention of the Governour and the Black Priest, this Father violating

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all these laws, had accused me as a Dogmatizing Heretick ; he might have sent me to the Inquisition of *Goa* immediately after my imprisonment ; and if he had done so, I might have come out of prison three months after, at the *Act of Faith*, which was performed in the *December* following. But it was not the intent of my rivals, that I should be so soon at liberty ; this is the reason, why the Commissary, far from removing me immediately from *Daman*, departed himself, that he might not receive my desires and complaints, and went to *Goa* as soon as he caused me to be arrested, from whence he returned not till after the *Act of Faith*, that is to say, till the end of *December* ; and I know not, whether he employed the four months, which he made me pass in the prison of *Daman*, in representing me to the Inquisitor, as a man very criminal, and very dangerous, whom it was necessary to remove from the *Indies* ; rather I have reason to suspect this, by the rigour, which they affected to use in my condemnation, which appeared so extraordinary even in *Portugal*. The Commissary returned then the 20th of *December*, with the little fleet, which goeth ordinarily in this season from *Goa* to *Cambaya*, to serve as a convoy to the merchant ships. This Father, who had orders to cause all the prisoners of the Inquisition to be embarked upon the *Galliots*, warned me to be ready to depart, when the fleet should return from *Cambia*.

The Abbe *Carré* returning in the mean time from *St. Thomas*, where was *Monsieur de la Haye*, and passing by *Daman*, having with much difficulty obtained leave to see me, was so kind as to visit me in the prison upon the *Eve* and the day of *Christmas*, which was that of his departure to *Surat*. I writ to the Commissary, and desired him by divers persons, that he would speak with me ; but neither my letters, nor the solicitations of those, who interested themselves for me, could prevail with him ; so much did he fear the just reproaches, which I should have made to him upon account of his insincerity.

About the same time, a *Portuguese*, named *Manuel Vas*, whom I had known very particularly, being accused of having a wife in *Portugal*, was arrested by order of the Holy Office, and carried into the prison where I was, for having married a second wife a month before at *Daman*.

My generous Prote^tress understanding, that I was to be removed to *Goa*, failed not to prepare provisions for me, which might have sufficed for a much longer voyage than what

what I was to perform. At last, part of the fleet being returned from *Cambaia*, the Commissary sent irons and chains to put upon the feet of all those, who were to be carried to *Goa*. The Negroes were chained two and two, except some, who were so wasted with famine endured in the prisons, that they were forced in embarking them to leave them the liberty of their feet, which yet they were not in any condition to make use of. As for the *Portuguese* and me, they did us the honour to afford us separate irons. The Commissary had also the civility to tell me, that he left me the choice of two chains, which were destined for his country-man and myself; and to make use of his civility, I chose the most convenient, although the heavier chain. I went out of prison with the rest on the last of *December*, and was carried in a Palanquin with the irons on my feet, to the bank of the river, where I found divers of my friends met together, whom I had the liberty to embrace, and bid farewell to them. The *Governour*, who was present, omitted nothing, whereby he might perswade me of the concern, which he felt at my misfortune; and made a thousand counterfeit prayers for my speedy deliverance and happy return. The sight of my friends, and their tears, served only to augment my grief; but nothing was more grievous to me than the denial of taking leave of my benefactress, whom I would have thanked for all her charitable care, which she had taken of me. At last, after many melancholy complements, they put me into a boat, and I was carried into one of the galliots of this little fleet, which expected only the orders of their General to weigh her anchors.

C H A P. VII.

Departure from Daman. We pass to Bacaim, and stay there. Our arrival at Goa.

Although one great part of the galliots and barques were not yet arrived from *Diu* and *Cambaia*, the General, *Lewis de Mello*, gave the signal of departure to those, which were then at *Daman*. From whence we departed the first day of the year 1674, with a design to go to *Bacaim*; to wait there, till the rest of the fleet should join us. As the wind was favourable, and as we had not above 20 leagues to sail, we arrived there on

the morrow ; and had no sooner let down our anchors, but all the prisoners were immediately landed, and carried into the prisons of that town, to be kept there all the while the ships should remain in the haven. I was carried thither with the rest. One of my friends, who had been settled a while since at *Bacaim*, having in vain endeavoured to obtain leave to see me, assured me by a letter, that he had also much difficulty to let me know the part, which he took in my misfortune.

The prison of *Bacaim* is larger and less filthy than that of *Daman* ; we found there a good number of companions in misery, whom the Father Commissary of the Inquisition in that town had detained prisoners a long time, waiting for a proper opportunity to send them to *Goa*. They were all chained, as we were. They put us aboard the seventh of the same month, and all the fleet being met together, and sufficiently provided with all things necessary, we weighed anchor, and made sail the next day.

There happened nothing remarkable to us during the rest of the voyage. We sailed always in sight of land : and the wind being pretty favourable to us, we arrived on the fourteenth at the Bar of *Goa*. Our Captain having immediately given advice to the Inquisitors, we landed the next day, and were carried to the Inquisition. But because there was no audience on that day, one of the officers of the house caused us to be carried into the ordinary prison ; that is, into the prison of the Archbishop of *Goa* : This prison is called in Portuguese, *Aljouvar*. I entered one of the first, and saw all our unfortunate companions arrive by degrees, and meet together, after their dispersion, during the voyage.

This prison is the most filthy, the most dark, and the most horrible of all that I ever saw ; and I doubt whether a more shocking and horrible prison can any where be found. It is a kind of cave, wherein there is no day seen but by a very little hole ; the most subtle rays of the sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The stink of it is extreme ; for there is no other place for the necessities of the prisoners, than a dry pit upon the floor, in the middle of the cave, which a man dare scarce approach, so that part of the ordure remained upon the side of the pit, and the greatest part of the prisoners went not so far, but eased themselves round about it. When night came, I durst not venture to lay myself down,

down, as fearing the vermin, whereof the prison was full, and the ordure, wherewith it was scattered all over ; but was forced to pass the night, leaning against a wall. Nevertheless, as horrible as this dwelling was, I should have preferred it to the private and lightsome Chambers of the Holy Inquisition ; because there was company and conversation to be had in the *Aljouvar*, whereas I was informed there was none in the prisons of the Holy Office.

C H A P. VIII.

How I was conducted to the Inquisition, and what is done to them, who are shut up in prison.

I Began to flatter myself, that they would suffer me to remain in the *Aljouvar*, till my affair should be ended ; because they had left us there all the day and the night following. But I saw all my hopes to vanish, when on the 16th day of January an officer came at eight of the clock in the morning, with orders to carry us to the Holy House : Which was immediately put into execution. It was not without great trouble, that I got to the place, whither they conducted me, because of the irons I had upon my legs. Yet were we in this lamentable equipage forced to walk the whole way from the *Aljouvar* to the Inquisition. Being helped to ascend the stairs, I entered with my companions into the great hall, where we found smiths, who took our irons off ; after which I was first called to audience.

After I had crossed the hall I passed in an antichamber, and from thence to the place where my judge was. This place, which is called by the Portuguese, *Mesa do Santo Officio*, that is, *the Table of the Holy Office*, was spread with divers pieces of Taffeta, some blue, others orange-colour. At one of the ends was placed a great crucifix, in relievo, which reached almost to the cieling. There is in the middle of the chamber a rais'd floor, upon which is placed a table about fifteen foot long and four' broad, and round about the rais'd floor are placed chairs. At one of the ends of this table, and upon the side of the crucifix, was the Secretary sitting upon a folding stool. I was placed at the other end, over-against the Secretary : Just by me, and on my right-hand, sat in a chair the Grand Inquisitor of the Indies, called *Francisco Delgado Ematos*, a Secular Priest, about forty years old. He was alone because of the two Inquisitors, which

which are ordinarily at *Goa*, the second, which is always a religious of the order of St. *Dominick*, was gone a little before into *Portugal*, and that none had been yet named to supply his place.

As soon as I was entered into the Chamber of Audience, I cast myself at the feet of my Judge, imagining to mollify him by this humble posture : but he would not suffer me to continue in that posture, commanding me to arise. Then having asked my name and my profession, he inquired, whether I knew for what reason I had been arrested, and advised me to declare it at large ; since this was the only means to recover my liberty speedily. After I had satisfied his two first questions, I told him I believed I knew the reason of my detention ; and that if he would have the goodness to hear me, I would accuse myself upon the spot. I mixed my tears with my prayers, and once more prostrated myself at his feet : but my Judge, without being moved, told me it signified nothing ; that he had then more important busines to handle than mine was ; and that he would cause me to be advertised when he should resume my affair : and so immediately ringing a little bell of silver, which was before him, he made use of it to call the *Alcaide*, or Jaylor of the Holy Office ; who entered into the chamber, from whence he led me, and carried me into a long gallery not far off, whither the Secretary followed us : Thither I saw my trunk brought, which was opened in my presence : they searched me also narrowly, and took from me all that I had about me, to my very buttons, and a ring, which I had upon my finger ; without leaving me any thing except my chaplet and my handkerchief, and some pieces of gold, which I had sewed up in one of my garters, which they forgot to search. Of all the rest they immediately made a pretty exact inventory, which afterwards was wholly useless to me ; for all that was valuable was never restored to me, although at that time the Secretary had assured me, that at my enlargement all should be faithfully returned into my hands : and the Inquisitor himself had after that often reiterated the same promise.

This inventory being finished, the *Alcaide* took me by the hand, and led me bare-headed into a little cell of ten foot square, where I was shut up all alone without sight of any one till the evening, when they brought me my supper. As I had eaten nothing either this or the foregoing day, I received very gladly what they gave to me ; and

this contributed to give me a little rest the following night. When they came the next day to give me something to break my fast, I asked for my books and my combs : But I soon understood, that they gave the first to no body, not even the breviary to Priests ; and that the second were no longer necessary to me, my hair being immediately cut off ; which is done to all the prisoners of what condition or sex soever, the first day that they enter into these *Holy Prisons*, or on the morrow at the latest.

I must here for some time interrupt the account of what particularly respects myself, to describe succinctly this house, with the orders and formalities, that are observed in it.

C H A P. IX.

Description of the Inquisition of Goa.

THE House of the Inquisition, which the *Portuguese* call *Santa Casa*, that is, the Holy House, is situuated on one side of the great space, which is before the Cathedral Church dedicated to St. Catherine. This house is great and magnificent, having in its front three gates ; that in the middle is larger than the other ; and it is by this, that they ascend into the great stair-case, which leadeth into the hall before-mentioned. The gates on the sides lead to the apartments of the Inquisitors, of which every one is large enough to lodge a reasonable train. There is within it divers other apartments for the officers of the house ; and in passing farther, may be seen a large building divided into divers lodgings, in two stories, separated the one from the other by back-courts. There is in every stage a gallery, one ten foot square ; and the number of these chambers may be in all two hundred.

The little cells of one of these dormitories are dark, without any window, lower and less than the others ; and they shewed me them one day, when I complained, that I was treated with too much rigour, to let me know, that I might have been worse provided than I was. The others are square, vaulted, whitened, private, and enlightened by means of a little grate-window, which shutteth not ; and to which the tallest man cannot reach. The walls are throughout five foot thick ; every chamber is shut with two doors, the one on the inside, and the other on the outside of the wall ; that within consists of two folding leaves, is strong, well bolted, and opened from the lower part

part like a grate. It hath in the upper part a little window, by which the prisoners receive their meat, their linnen, and other things, whereof they have need, and which can pass through it. This window hath a little shutter to it, which is shut with two strong bolts. The door, which is on the outside of the wall, is not so strong nor so thick as the other, but is whole, and without any window ; they leave that ordinarily open from six in the morning to eleven, that the wind may enter in by the clefts of the other door, and so the air of the chamber may be purified.

C H A P. X.

In what manner the prisoners of the Inquisition are treated.

THEY give to every one of those, whom their unhap-piness leads into these holy prisons, an earthen pot full of water to wash themselves ; another more convenient of those, which are called *Gurguleta*, also full of water to drink, with a pucaro or cup made of a kind of fine earth, which is commonly found in the *Indies*, and which cooleth the water admirably well, after it hath stood in it for some time. They give them also a broom to keep their chamber clean ; a mat to spread upon the floor where they lye ; a great bason, which is changed every four days, and a pot to cover it ; which serveth also to put the filth in, which is swept up. The prisoners are there pretty well treated ; they have three meals in a day, that is, breakfast at six a-clock in the morning, dinner at ten, and supper at four a-clock in the evening. The breakfast of the *Negroes* is ordinarily *cange*, which is water thickened with rice. For their other meals, they always make use of rice and fish. The *Whites* or *Europeans* are better treated. They carry to them in the morning a little soft bread, weighing about three ounces, with fried fish, fruits, and a saufage, if it be *Sunday*, and sometimes also upon *Thursday*. They gave them also flesh to dinner on these two days, with a little bread, as in the morning ; a plate of rice, with some *ragout*, and much fauce, to mingle with the rice, which is boiled only with water and salt. On all other days they have no-thing to dinner but fish ; for supper they bring to them in like manner bread, fried fish, a plate of rice, and a *ragout* of fish or of eggs, whose fauce may be eaten with the rice. As for flesh, they never make use of it to supper, not even upon *Easterday*. I think, that this way of life is not ob-

served so much out of sparingness, fish being a very dear commodity in the *Indies*, as for to mortify the more those, who have incurred the greater excommunication, and to preserve them, at the same time, from that cruel disease, which the *Indians* call *Mordechi*, which is nothing else but indigestion, a disease very frequent and dangerous in these climates ; and above all, in a place, where no exercise is performed.

They take care to give the sick persons all things necessary for them. The physicians and surgeons fail not to visit them at all requisite times ; and if the sickness grows dangerous, they assign confessors to them. But they administer to none within this Holy House, either the Eucharist, or Extreme Unction. As also they never hear Mass there.

Those, who die within these prisons, are buried in the house without ceremony. And if they are judged worthy of death according to the maxims of this Tribunal, they are digged up, and their bones are kept to be burnt at the next *Act of Faith*. I will relate in another place the particulars of this ceremony.

As it is always very hot in the *Indies*, and in the Inquisition no books are allowed to any person, the prisoners never see any fire, nor other light, than that of the day. There are in every cell two couches to lye upon, because when necessity requireth it, they shut up two persons together. Besides the matt, which is given to every one, the white men have moreover a coverlet, which serveth instead of a matt, there being no need of it to cover themselves, unless it be to avoid the persecution of those flies, which are called *Cousins*, and are there in very great numbers, and which cause one of the greatest inconveniences, that is to be found in this melancholy habitation.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Officers of the Inquisition.

THREE are at *Goa* two Inquisitors. The first, whom they call *Inquisidor mor*, or the Great Inquisitor, is always a Secular Priest ; and the second a Monk, of the Order of St. Dominick. The Holy Office hath also Officers, whom they call *Deputies of the Holy Office* ; these are in greater number. There is of all Religious Orders : They assist at the trial of the accused persons, at their examination, and forming of their process ; but they never come into the Tribunal without being sent for by the Inquisitor.

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There are others, whom they call *Calificadores of the Holy Office*; to whom they assign the care of examining in books the propositions, which they suspect to be contrary to the purity of Faith. And these assist not at the Trials, nor come to the Tribunals, but only send their report concerning the things, which are committed to their charge.

There is moreover a Promotor, a Procurator, and Advocates for the Prisoners, who desire them, who serve not so much to defend them, as to pump out their most secret thoughts, and to betray them: And even although there should be no reason to doubt of their fidelity, their protection would yet be wholly unuseful to the accused persons, since those Advocates never speak to them but in the presence of the Judges, or of persons, whom they send to give an account of their conferences. The Inquisition hath other officers, whom they call *Familiars of the Holy Office*, who are properly the Serjeants of this Tribunal. Persons of all conditions are ambitious to be admitted into this noble function, although they be Dukes or Princes. They employ them to go and arrest accused persons; and they are wont ordinarily to send a *Familiar* of Quality for him, whom they would apprehend. These officers have no wages, and they esteem it sufficient recompence to have the honour to serve so holy a Tribunal. They wear always, as a mark of honour, a medal of gold, upon which are engraved the arms of the Holy Office. They go alone, when they intend to arrest any one; and as soon as they have declared to any person, that they are called by the Inquisitors, every one is obliged to follow them without replying; for if any one should in the least resist, the whole multitude of people would not fail to lend their assistance for the execution of the orders of the Holy Office. Besides all these Officers, there are also Secretaries, Serjeants, whom they call *Meirinhos*, an *Alcaide* or Jaylor, and guards to watch over the prisoners, and bring them their meat, with other things necessary.

C H A P. XII.

In what manner the Officers of the Inquisition behave themselves towards the Prisoners.

AS all the prisoners are separated, and as it seldom happens, that two are put together, four persons are more than sufficient to guard two hundred. They cause a perpetual

perpetual silence to be in the Inquisition ; and those, who would lament themselves, weep, or even pray to God too loud, put themselves in danger of receiving blows, with a switch, from the guards ; who at the least noise, which they hear, run to the place whence it cometh, to give them notice to be silent ; and if obedience be wanting to the second command, they open the doors, and beat the prisoners without mercy ; which serveth not only to correct those, which they chastize in this manner, but also to terrify the rest, who all hear the cries and the blows, by reason of the profound silence, which is observed every where. The Alcaide and the Guards are continually in the galleries, and they lye there all night.

The Inquisitor, accompanied with a Secretary and an Interpreter, visiteth all the prisoners every two months, or thereabouts, to ask them, if they want any thing ; whether their meat be brought to them at the prescribed hours, and whether they have not any complaints to make against the officers, which are about them ? As soon as answer is made upon these three articles, they immediately shut the door. In truth, these visits are made only to set forth that justice and goodnes, whereof they make ostentation in this Tribunal, but produce not the least profit or assistance to the prisoners, who make their complaints, since they are not at all the more kindly treated. Those among the prisoners, who possess any goods, are no whit better treated than those, who have none ; and they furnish to the latter necessaries from what is confiscated from the others. For the Holy Office very seldom fails to confiscate all the goods, moveable and immoveable, of those, who have the misfortune to fall into their hands.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the formalities, which are observed in the Inquisition.

WHEN any person is brought before the Inquisition, they first of all ask him his name, his profession, or his quality ; then they exhort him to give an exact account of all his goods ; and to induce him the more easily to it, they signify to him on the part of Jesus Christ, that if he be innocent, all that he shall have declared to be his, shall be faithfully restored to him ; and that on the contrary, even although his innocence should be clearly proved

proved, all that could be afterwards discovered to belong to him, which he had not acknowledged, should remain confiscated, and be lost to him. And because almost all persons are prepossessed with an opinion of the holiness and integrity of this Tribunal ; a person, to whom his own conscience reproacheth not any crime, not doubting, but that his innocence will be demonstrated, and that consequently his liberty will be restored to him, maketh no scruple to reveal to these Inquisitors whatsoever is most secret, and of greatest importance, in his affairs and whole family.

It is not without some apparent reason, that the publick is prepossessed in favour of this Tribunal ; for to consider only the external part of it, there is no judicature in the world, wherein justice is exercised with greater appearance of sweetness and charity. Those, who accuse themselves of their own accord, and who testify their repentance before they are apprehended, remain free ; and are not liable to be imprisoned. It is true, that they look upon such as criminals, who accuse not themselves before their imprisonment, and that they condemn them as such : But they never punish any person with any temporal punishment, which extendeth to death, except those, who are manifestly convicted. They are not contented there with two or three witnesses, as in other lay judicatures, to look upon an accused person as a convicted criminal ; and although two witnesses suffice to decree the apprehension of any man, it is required, that there be, at least, seven to condemn him. How enormous soever the crime be, whereof the accused person is a reputed convict, the Holy Office contents itself with the ecclesiastical punishment of excommunication, and the confiscation of his goods. And in respect of temporal and corporal punishments, which the criminal owes to the lay justice, if he acknowledgeth his crime, he is acquitted for that time : The Holy Office intercedes for him, suspends the Secular Arm, and obtaineth pardon for the criminal. Neither are there any exhortations, or instances, which they will not make to produce this acknowledgment. It is true, that if he relapse into his crime, the Inquisition cannot any longer save him, but she abandons him unwillingly, and delivers him not to the Secular Arm, till after she hath obtained of the Lay Judges, that if they persist in their resolutions of punishing the relapsed criminal with death, it shall be, at least, without effusion of blood. What gentleness is this ! But

But after having said all, that, can be alledged in favour of the Holy Office, we must add some circumstances, which will manifest what is to be expected from this apparent goodness and charity. The witnesses are never confronted ; they receive for witnesses all sorts of persons, even those, who are interested in the life and condemnation of the accused person. They never admit any objection to be made by the accused against witnesses the most notoriously unworthy of being heard, and most uncapable of deposing against him. The number of these witnesses is oft-times reduced to five ; they comprehend in the number of these witnesses the pretended complices, who depose only in time of torture, and who can save their lives no otherwise than by confessing that which they never did. And in this number of seven, the pretended guilty person is comprehended, who confessing in torture the crime, which he never committed, is reputed a witness against himself. Oftentimes, also, this number of seven is reduced to none, because it is composed only of pretended accomplices, who are truly innocent of the crime, which they impose upon them ; and whom the Inquisition renders truly criminal, in forcing them either by threats of fire, or by torture, to accuse the innocent to save their own lives. For to understand well this mystery, we are to know, that among the crimes, which the Inquisition hath right to take cognizance of, there are some, which may be committed in that manner, that one alone is guilty, as blasphemy, impiety, &c. There are others, which cannot be committed without having at last one accomplice, as sodomy. And lastly, there are others, which cannot be committed without having divers complices ; as to have assisted at the Jewish Sabbath, or to have partaken in those superstitious assemblies, which the converted Idolaters have so much difficulty to quit, and which they treat as magick and sorcery ; because they are held to discover secret things, or to know future events, by methods, which do not naturally lead to such knowledge.

It is particularly in respect, and upon occasion of these crimes, which cannot be committed but with one or more accomplices, that the proceedings of the Holy Office are more strange and more extraordinary. The Jews having been driven out of Spain by Ferdinand King of Arragon, and Isabella Queen of Castile, his wife, they fled into Portugal, where they were received upon condition of embracing Christianity, which they did, at least in appearance. But

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as the name of *Jew* is odious throughout the whole world, they always distinguished the Christian families from the families of the converted *Jews*; and they at this day call those, who are descended from them, in any degree whatsoever, *Christians novos*, that is to say, New Christians. And because in process of time, some have contracted alliance with the ancient Christians, they upbraid it continually to their successors, that they are partly *New Christians*, which the *Portuguese* express, by saying, *tem parte de Cristam novo*. Insomuch, that although their Grandfathers, or Great-Grandfathers were Christians, these unhappy persons shall never be able to obtain admission into the number of *Cristams Velhos*, or *Ancient Christians*. And as the families, which are descended thus directly, or in part from these *Jews*, are distinctly known in *Portugal*, where they are the object of the hatred and horrour of others, they are forced to unite themselves more strictly together, to render to each other that mutual assistance, which they cannot hope for from others. And it is this very union, which augmenteth the contempt and hatred of them; and which is the ordinary cause of their misfortunes.

C H A P. XIV.

Of the injustice, which is committed by the Inquisition, in respect of persons accused of Judaism.

TO illustrate this matter well, I will suppose, that a new Christian, but who nevertheless is very sincerely and truly a Christian descended from these unfortunate families, is arrested by order of the Holy Office; and that he is accused not only by seven witnesses, but by fifty, if you will. This man, who is assured of his own innocence, which he hopeth will be undoubtedly acknowledged, maketh no scruple to give to his Judge an exact account of all his goods; which he believeth will be faithfully restored to him. Nevertheless these gentlemen no sooner get them into their hands, but they sell them publickly, as being well assured, that they shall never restore any thing.

Some months being passed, this man is called to an audience, to ask him, if he knows, why he is put in prison; to which he fails not to answer, that he knoweth no reason: He is then exhorted to consider seriously, and to tell them; since this is the only means speedily to recover his

liberty ; after which he is remitted to his lodgings. He is again brought to an audience some time after, and is asked divers times in the same manner, without drawing any other answer from him. But at last the time of the *Auto da Fe* approaching, the Promotor presents himself, and declares to him, that he is accused by a good number of unexceptionable witnesses to have judaized ; which consisteth in observing the ceremonies of the *Mosaic* law, as not to eat swines flesh, an hare, or fish without scales ; to have assembled with others, and solemnized the Sabbath-day ; to have eaten the Paschal-Lamb, and so in the rest. He is then conjured by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ (for these are the very terms, which they affect to use in the Holy House) voluntarily to confess his crimes, since this is the only means, which remains for him to save his life ; and that the Holy Office seeketh all possible means not to suffer him to destroy himself. This innocent man persisteth in denying what is charged on him, and hereupon he is condemned as a *negative convicted* person, (that is to say, one, who is convicted, but will not confess his crime) to be delivered up to the secular arm, to be punished according to the laws, that is, to be burnt.

Yet they never discontinue to exhort him to accuse himself ; and provided that he do it before the eve of his being led forth to execution, he may yet avoid death. But if he persist to protest his innocence, notwithstanding all exhortations, solicitations, and even torture itself, which are used to oblige him to accuse himself, at last they signify to him the decree of his execution on the *Friday*, which immediately precedeth the *Sunday* of his being carried forth. This signification is made in presence of a Serjeant of the Secular Justice, who casteth a cord upon the hands of the pretended guilty person, in token, that he taketh possession of him, after the ecclesiastical justice hath abandoned him ; after that a Confessor is brought in, who never leaveth the condemned person either night or day ; who never ceaseth to press him particularly, and exhort him to confess that whereof he is accused, that he may thereby save his life. An innocent man must needs then find himself in a great perplexity. If he continueth to deny till *Sunday*, he is cruelly put to death the same day ; and if he accuseth himself, he becometh infamous and miserable for his whole life. Nevertheless, if the exhortations of his Confessor, and the fear of the punishment, induce him to confess

crimes, which he never committed, he must desire to be carried to audience, which fails not to be immediately granted. Being there in presence of his Judges, he must first declare himself guilty, and then ask pardon, as well for his crimes, as his obstinacy, in refusing so long to confess them. And as they always imagine, they have reason to believe they accuse themselves sincerely, they oblige him to relate all his faults and errors particularly : And so this innocent man, to whom they have already signified the dispositions of his enemies, not being able to perform what is required of him, is forced to repeat that, which he had before heard told to him. This man may then, perhaps, imagine, that he shall be wholly acquitted ; but there remain things to be done by him incomparably more difficult than all which he hath hitherto done ; for the Inquisitors fail not to speak to him very near, in this manner : If you have been at the Assemblies upon the Sabbath-day, as you say ; and that your accusers have been there present, as is very probable ; to convince us of the sincerity of your repentance, it is necessary, that you name not only those, who have accused you, but moreover all those, who have been with you at these Assemblies.

It is not easy to discover the reason, which induces the Holy Office, to oblige these pretended *Jews* to guess the witnesses, which have accused them ; unless it be that the witnesses of assembling in the Sabbath are accomplices of the fact. But how shall this poor innocent be able to guess ? And if he should be guilty, for what end is it, that he must name them to the Holy Office, which already knows them, since she hath received their deposition, and that it is only upon account of this deposition, that she thus treateth the accused person as guilty ? In all other cases they permit not, that the criminals shall know their witnesses, against whom they would have objections to alledge ; here they force them to guess, who they are. They are accomplices, I grant it ; but the Inquisition will not at all the better know them after the accused person shall have named them. If they accuse themselves voluntarily, the Inquisition hath no more to say to them. If they have been forced to confess their crimes in the prisons of the Inquisition, they are there still where they were before ; and it concerns not the Holy Office to make the accused person guess their names ; himself will not become thereby the more innocent, nor they the less guilty. The accused per-

son and the witnesses are equally in the power of the Inquisition ; what is then the design and interest of these Judges ? unless it be to cause, that this man should accuse all his accomplices in seeking to guess out his witnesses. This may serve for somewhat, if he be truly guilty ; but if he be not, this necessity of guessing cannot but involve the innocent ; and so it happens, for this poor new Christian being forced to name people, whom he knows not, to the Inquisition, who knows them, (since without that, the confession of a crime, whereof he is innocent, would nothing avail him, to save him from the fire,) reasons very near thus : It must necessarily be, that those, who have accused me, should be of my kindred, of my friends, of my neighbours ; and lastly, some of the new Christians, whose company I have wont to frequent : For the ancient Christians are hardly ever accused or suspected of Judaism. And it may be that these persons have been reduced to the same condition, wherein I am at present ; it is necessary therefore, that I accuse all round about me. And as it is not possible, that he should guess punctually, and in order, those, who have deposed against him, to find out the six or seven persons, who have accused him, he is necessarily obliged to name a great number of innocent persons, who had never thought of him ; against whom, nevertheless, himself becomes a witness by his declaration, which is oft-times sufficient to cause them to be arrested, and keep them in the prisons of the Holy Office, till in time they can get seven witnesses against them, as against him, whom I have already supposed ; which will be sufficient to cause them to be condemned to the fire.

C H A P. XV.

Wherein is farther treated of the formalities, which are observed in the Inquisition.

IT is easy to know, by what hath been already said in the preceding Chapter, that these miserable victims of the Inquisition mutually accuse one another ; and that a man may by this means be very innocent, although he hath fifty witnesses against him, and yet this man, as innocent as he is, for want of accusing himself, or of guessing well, is delivered to the executioners as sufficiently convicted ; which would never happen, or at least very seldom, if they

they took care to confront the accusers, witnesses, and accused persons.

All that is practised against persons suspected of Judaism, and all that hath been hitherto said, is to be understood also of persons become suspected of sorcery ; because they are supposed to have been present at those superstitious assemblies, which I before mentioned. And here the difficulty of naming their pretended accomplices and accusers is much greater, because they are not, as the New Christians, to seek their witnesses, and their accomplices, in a certain species of men. But it is necessary, that they find them at a venture, and indifferently, among their whole acquaintance, friends, kindred, enemies, neuters of all professions, which takes in many more innocent persons into these fortuitous and forced accusations ; because they must name a greater number, in order to meet in this multitude of innocents with the witnesses, concerning whom they are asked.

The goods both of those, who are punished with death, and of those who avoid it by their confession, are equally confiscated ; because they are all reputed guilty. And as the Inquisitors desire not so much their lives as their goods, and that according to the laws of the Tribunal, they deliver none over to the Secular Arm but relapsed persons, and those, who will not subscribe to their accusations ; these Judges use all possible arts to induce the prisoners to confess, not forgetting to rack them to force them to it. They are also so merciful as to rack these accused persons in a most violent manner, to save their lives in forcing them to confess the crimes, whereof they are accused : but the true reason, which makes them so passionately desire, that one should accuse himself, is that a man having confessed himself guilty, the world hath no longer any reason to doubt, that his goods were justly confiscated : And because by remitting the punishment of death to these pretended criminals, they dazzle the eyes of the simple with an apparent goodness and justice, which contributes, not a little, to preserve the idea commonly entertained of the holiness and gentleness of this Tribunal ; without which artifice, it could not any long time subsist ; it will not be amiss here to let the reader know, that those, who have thus escaped the fire by their forced confession, when they are out of the prison of the Holy Office, are strictly obliged to publish, that they were treated with much goodness and clemency,

clemency, since their life was preserved to them, which they had justly forfeited. For if a man, who having confessed himself guilty, should afterwards presume to justify himself after his enlargement, he would be immediately accused, arrested, and burnt at the first *Act of Faith*, without any hope of pardon.

C H A P. XVI.

Other kinds of injustice, which are ordinarily committed in the Inquisition.

IF Christians are often put to death falsely accused, and slenderly convicted of having judaized, as the Judges of the Holy Office would themselves soon acknowledge, if they would take the pains to examine the matter without prejudice, and consider, that among an hundred persons condemned to the fire, as *Jews*, there are scarce found four, who profess this law at their death, the rest crying out and protesting to their last breath, that they are Christians, that they have been so all their lives, that they adore Jesus Christ as their only and true God, and that it is wholly upon his mercies and the merits of his adorable blood that they found all their hopes. But the cries and declarations of these unhappy persons, if we may so call them, who suffer for not acknowledging a lye, cannot in the least move these gentlemen, who imagine, that this authentick confession of their faith, which so great a number of people make in dying, deserveth not to obtain the least reflection; and who believe, that a certain number of witnesses, whom the sole fear of fire hath induced to accuse very innocent persons, will be a reason strong enough to defend them from the just vengeance of God: If, I say, so many Christians passing for *Jews* are unjustly delivered up to execution in all the Inquisitions, there are no less, nor fewer acts of injustice performed in the *Indies* against those, who are accused of magick and sorcery, and as such condemned to the fire. To illustrate this, we are to observe, that the Gentiles, who in Paganism observed a very great number of ridiculous superstitions; to know, for example, the success of an affair, or of a disease; whether one is loved by a certain person; who stole away any thing which is lost, and for other reasons of this nature; that these Gentiles, I say, cannot so well, nor so readily forget all

all these things, but that they put them often in practice after they are baptized ; which will be thought less strange, if we consider, that in *France*, where the Christian Religion hath been established for so many ages, there may be yet found so many persons, who give belief to, and use these impertinent ceremonies, which so long a time hath not caused to be forgotten. Farther, that those Gentiles newly converted to the faith have passed the greater part of their life in Paganism, and that those, who live in the States of the King of *Portugal* in the *Indies*, are subjects or slaves, who ordinarily change not their religion, but in hope of being better treated by their Lords and Masters ; nevertheless these sort of faults, which, in gross and ignorant persons, would methinks deserve rather the whip than the fire, cease not to be expiated by this cruel punishment in all those, who are convicted, according to the maxims of this Tribunal, the second time, if they confessed the first time ; or the first time, if they persisted to deny the fact. And the Inquisition punisheth not only Christians, who fall, or who are accused to have fallen into the cases, whereof it hath right to judge, but also Mahometans, Gentiles, and other strangers of whatsoever Religion they be, who have committed any of these crimes, or who have performed any exercise of their religion in the countries subject to the King of *Portugal*. For although the Prince granteth liberty of conscience, the Holy Office having the interpretation of this commission, consenteth indeed, that strangers should live in their religion, but punisheth those as guilty, who perform any exercise of it. And as in the lands of the *Portuguese* dominion in the *Indies*, there are many more Mahometans and Gentiles than Christians, and that the Inquisition, which punisheth the relapsed Christians with death, never inflicteth capital punishment upon those, who never received baptism, although they should relapse an hundred times into the same fault ; and that at the most they are quitted for banishment, the whip, or the gallies ; this fear of being condemned to the Fire hinders many from embracing Christianity. And the Holy Office, far from being useful in these countries to the propagation of the Faith, serveth for nothing else but to drive people from the Church, and create in them an abhorrence of it.

The perpetual succession of accusations, which necessarily follow, all which I have hitherto related, and the liberty, which every one taketh, of freely accusing those, who are

his enemies, causeth that, the prisons of the Inquisition are never long empty ; and though the Acts of Faith are made at the latest from two to two, or from three to three years, there fail not nevertheless to appear in every one about two hundred prisoners, and sometimes more.

C H A P. XVII.

Some particulars concerning the Officers of the Inquisition.

IN all the countries of the *Portuguese* dominions, there are four Inquisitions, to wit, in *Portugal* those of *Lisbon*, *Conimbra*, and *Devora*, and in the *East-Indies* that of *Goa*. These Tribunals are all supreme, and judge without appeal all those matters, which happen within the extent of their bounds. That of *Goa* extendeth its jurisdiction over all the countries possessed by the King of *Portugal*, beyond the *Cape of Good Hope*. Beside these four Tribunals, there is also the *Great Council of the Inquisition*, wherein presideth the Inquisitor-General : This Tribunal is the chief of all others, and is informed of all, which is done by the others. Beside the honour, the excessive authority, and the pensions annexed to the charges of all the Inquisitors, they draw thence also a considerable profit two ways. The first, when they cause the effects of the prisoners to be publickly sold ; by which means, if there be found any thing rare and precious, they need only send some of their domesticks to cheapen it ; and it is certain, that no body will dare to bid above him : Whence it happens often, that things are adjudged to him at half of their just value.

The second mean, by which they may more considerably gain, is, that the price of the confiscated goods being brought into the Royal Exchequer, they have power to send orders, when they will, and for what sums they please, to supply the expences and secret necessities of the *Holy Office* ; which is paid to them ready down, without any person's daring to enquire wherein these secret necessities consist, insomuch as almost all that comes from these confiscations returns to them one way or other.

All the Inquisitors are named by the King, and confirmed by the Pope, from whom they receive their Bulls. There is no man at *Goa*, but the Grand Inquisitor, who hath or claimeth the right of being carried in a chair. Much greater respect is given to him than either to the

Arch-

Archbishop or Viceroy ; and the Governours, when the Viceroy is dead. His authority extends over all sorts of persons, laick and ecclesiastick, except the Archbishop, his Grand-Vicar, who is always a Bishop, the Viceroy, and the Governours, when the Viceroy is dead ; although he can cause even them to be arrested, after he hath given advice of his intention to the Court of *Portugal*, and hath received secret orders of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition at *Lisbon*, called *Conselho Supremo*. This Tribunal assembleth not but from fifteen to fifteen days, unless somewhat extraordinary intervenes, which may oblige them to meet more frequently ; whereas the ordinary Councils are regularly assembled twice a day, in the morning from eight of the clock to eleven, and in the afternoon from two to four, and sometimes later ; especially when the times of the *Acts of Faith* draw near, for then the audiences are often prolonged till ten at night.

When they judge causes, besides the Deputies, which assist, the Archbishops or Bishops of the places, where the Inquisition is established, have a right to be present at the Tribunal, and to preside there in all the judgments, which are made. But it is time to return to what particularly relates to myself.

C H A P. XVIII.

In what manner I was led the first time to audience, and what they said to me.

THEY had given me notice, when I was first shut up in the prisons of the Holy Office, that whenever I should have need of any thing, I need only knock softly at the door to call the guards, or desire it of them at the hours of meals ; and that when I would go to audience, I must address myself to the *Alcaide*, who, as well as the guards, never speak to the prisoners without a witness. They had also given to me hopes, as I before said, that my liberty should immediately follow my confession. For this reason I ceased not to importune the officers, that I might be carried before my Judges : But with all my tears and entreaties, I could not obtain this favour till the last of January, 1674.

The *Alcaide*, accompanied with one of the guards, came to me upon this account, at two of the clock in the afternoon. I habited myself according to his directions, and

went out of my cell, my head, legs, and feet being naked. The *Alcaide* went before me, and the guard followed me. We walked in this order to the very door of the chamber of audience, where the *Alcaide* having advanced a little, and made a profound reverence, stept back to let me enter alone. I found there, as before, the Inquisitor and the Secretary. I fell down at first upon my knees ; but having received order to arise and sit down, I seated myself upon a bench, which was at the end of the table on the same side with my Judge. Near me upon the end of the table lay a missal ; upon which, before we proceeded any farther, they made me lay my hand, and promise to keep secrecy, and speak the truth : which two oaths are exacted of all those, who approach this Tribunal, whether it be to depose or receive any order. They then asked me, if I knew the cause of my imprisonment, and whether I were resolved to confess it. To which having answered, that I desired nothing more, I recited exactly all that I before related in the beginning of this narrative, touching baptism, and images, without saying any thing of what I had advanced concerning the Inquisition, because I did not then remember it. My Judge having farther asked me, whether I had nothing else to say, and being told, that this was all which I remembered, far from restoring my liberty to me, as I had hoped, he finished this audience with these very words :

That I had done very wisely in accusing myself so willingly ; and that he exhorted me on the part of our Lord Jesus Christ, fully to confess the rest of my accusations, to the end that I might make proof of the goodness and mercy, which are used in this Tribunal towards those, who shew a true repentance of their crimes, by a sincere and unforced confession.

My confession and his exhortation being finished and written down, they read it to me, and I signed it ; after which the Inquisitor rung the bell to call the *Alcaide*, who carried me out, and brought me back into my chamber in the same order, in which I had gone.

C H A P. XIX.

My second and third audience.

I WAS carried the second time before my Judges without desiring it, the 15th of February, which made me believe, that they had some design to free me : As soon as I came

I came in, they asked me anew, whether I had nothing more to say, and exhorted me to disguise nothing, but on the contrary sincerely to confess all my faults. I answered, that how great care soever I had taken to examine myself, I could not call to mind any other thing than what I had already confessed. At last they asked me my name, that of my father, mother, brother, grandfathers and grandmothers, godfathers and godmothers ; whether I were a *Christam de oito dias*, that is to say, a *Christian of eight days*, because in *Portugal* they baptize not children till the eighth day after their birth ; as also women in child-bed go not out, nor go to church, till forty days after their delivery, how happy soever that may have been. My Judge seemed to be surprized, when I told him, that this custom of deferring the baptism of children till the eighth day was not observed in *France*, where they baptized them as soon as could be : and it sufficiently appears from the observance of these legal ceremonies, that notwithstanding the aversion, which the *Portuguese* testify against the *Jews*, they are nevertheless no very refined Christians. But this is not the greatest evil, which resulteth from the observation of these ceremonies. For first, it happens but too often, that children die without being regenerated by the holy sacrament of Baptism, and are thereby deprived of Heaven for ever ; and not to violate the custom of Purification, which ought no longer to be continued after the publication of the *Gospel*, the *Portuguese* women make no scruple to contemn the commands of the Church, which oblige all Christians to be present on *Sunday*, and on the feasts of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, if they be not prevented by lawful impediments.

They also asked me the name of the Curate, who had baptized me ? in what diocese ? what town ? what parish ? and lastly, whether I ever were confirmed ? and by what Bishop ? Having satisfied all these questions, they commanded me to kneel down, to make the sign of the Cross, to repeat the Lord's-Prayer, the *Ave-Mary*, the Creed, the Commandments of God, and of the Church, and the *Salve Regina* : lastly, he concluded, as at the first time, by exhorting me through the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ to confess without delay ; which being read in my presence, and signed by me, I was remitted to my chamber.

From the first moment, that I had been in this prison I had been always melancholy, and never ceased to shed

tears ; but at my return from this second audience, I entirely abandoned myself to all grief, seeing that they exacted of me the things, which appeared impossible to me, since my memory suggested to me nothing of that, which they desired I should confess. . I endeavoured then to end my life by hunger : I received indeed the meat, which they brought to me, because I could not refuse it, without exposing myself to receive bastinadoes from the guards, who take care to observe, when the plates are returned to them, whether the prisoners have eaten enough to sustain nature : But my despair suggested to me means of eluding their diligence : I passed whole days without eating any thing ; and that they might not perceive it, I cast into the basin part of what they gave me. This course of diet was the cause, that I was entirely deprived of sleep, and my whole employment consisted in mortifying my body, and shedding tears. However, I omitted not in this time of my affliction, to reflect upon the errors of my past life, and to acknowledge, that it was by a just judgment of God, that I had fallen into that depth of misery and unhappiness. I proceeded also so far as to believe, that he intended perhaps to make use of this means to call me to himself, and convert me. Having a little fortified myself by such meditations, I implored, with my whole heart, the assistance of the Blessed Virgin, who is no less the consolation of the afflicted, than the Asylum and refuge of sinners ; and from whom I have so visibly experienced protection, as well during my imprisonment, as upon other occasions of my life, that I could not omit to render this publick testimony of it.

At last, after I had made a more exact, or a more happy examination of all which I had said or done, during my stay at *Daman*, I called to mind what I had advanced concerning the Inquisition, and its integrity ; I immediately desired audience, which yet was not granted to me till the sixteenth of *March* following. I doubted not, but in appearing before my Judge, to terminate all my affair in one day ; and that upon my confession, which I intended to make, they would immediately restore me to perfect liberty : but then, when I thought my hopes at the point of being compleated, I saw myself at once depriv'd of all these sweet hopes ; because having confessed all, which I had to say touching the Inquisition, they told me, that this was not that, which they expected of me ; and I having nothing else to say, was immediately sent back, without so much as their vouchsafing to write down my confession.

C H A P. XX.

How despair induced me to attempt my life.

I AM now come to the most unhappy time of my captivity ; for how severe soever it had hitherto been, I had, at least, the comfort of having suffered wth some patience, and even of having endeavoured to make a good use of my sufferings ; for the Faith obligeth us to believe, that the greatest evils are so many advantages to those, who make good use of them. I ought not therefore to look upon that only as an unhappy time wherein I committed faults, which I cannot but consider as very great, and which I pretend not to justify, or even to excuse, by the cruelty of those, who required of me impossible things, on pain of burning, since they carry not along with them so great extremity, as may justify despair, which is the greatest and worst of all evils.

I was once resolved not to speak, in this place, of the despair, which seized me, nor the endeavours of destroying my own life, to which I was induced by it : but it was thought, it would be important to give this account, since it cannot be denied, that the unjust severities of the Inquisition give at least occasion to many to fall into the same condition ; and that it concerneth the publick to make known, not only the evil of the unjust actions considered in themselves, but also the horrible evils, which are the too ordinary consequences of them. For if persons, who have learning and education, who are instructed in their duties, and who never enjoy the lights of Faith, fall into such extremities ; what may not be feared from so many ignorant persons without education, the greatest part of them new converts from Paganism, where they have almost all their life looked on despair as an act of generosity ? I confess, that the ill success of my last audience, which I had believed would be so favourable for me, was an insupportable blow to me ; and that thenceforth accounting liberty to be an happiness, to which I could no longer pretend, I abandoned myself so far to melancholy and despair, that I wanted but little of entirely losing my reason.

I had not forgot, that it is forbidden to a man to destroy himself, and I had no design to destroy myself eternally, but I desired to live no longer ; and the extreme desire, which

which I had to die, troubled me so far, that I invented a method, in the midst of my despair, which might effectually procure my death, and a natural death, since I could not resolve to lay violent hands upon myself; and I imagined, that God would pardon me, if I procured it slowly, and by the means of others. I feigned then to be sick, and to have a fever: they immediately brought to me a *Pandite*, or a Gentile Physician, who was immediately assured, by the quickness of my pulse, that I had a true fever, and ordered me to be let blood, which was reiterated for five days together; and as my intention in using this remedy was very different from that of my Physician, who laboured to recover my health, while I thought of nothing but ending this miserable and unhappy life, as soon as every one was retired, and my door was shut, I untied the fillet, and suffered so much blood to run out, as might fill a cup containing at least eighteen ounces. I reiterated these cruel evacuations as often as I was bled, and withal, eating almost no food, it is not hard to judge, that I was reduced to extreme weakness.

The *Alcaide*, who observed so considerable a change in my body, could not sufficiently wonder at the ill state, wherein I was, which admitted scarce any hope of recovery. The *Pandite* was in the same astonishment, which obliged them to advertise the Inquisitor, who proposed to me to be confessed. As I did not believe myself to be in a condition of escaping death, I began to repent of what I had done, and being unwilling to destroy soul and body both together, I consented to receive a Confessor. They brought to me an honest Monk, of the order of St. *Francis*, to whom having given an entire knowledge of my proceeding, I received much consolation from him. His good advices made me take a resolution of contributing as much as I could to the recovery of my health: I gave him leave to inform the Inquisitor secretly of all that had happened: And from that day, which was holy *Friday*, they gave to me, with all care, all things necessary for the speedy recovery of my strength, which I had lost with my blood; and to abate my melancholy a little, wherewith I was overwhelmed, they shut up with me a Negroe Prisoner, who was accused of Magick, and who kept me company for five months. I enjoyed, during all this while, more command of my reason, and was less melancholy; but as soon as they imagined me to be well recovered,

ed, they withdrew my companion, and the loss of this comfort made me relapse into the same condition, to which I had been at first reduced.

C H A P. XXI.

New excesses, to which my despair carried me.

I Became more mad than ever by the absence of my companion ; I beat my breast and my face with my fist, and not contented with that, sought means to take away my life, which I could not lose by my former attempt. I believed that I should not succeed in counterfeiting sickness a second time ; and even if I should really be believed, if they opened me a vein, they would take all possible precaution to hinder me from losing my blood a second time. This is the reason, why being possess'd with my despair, I remembered, that notwithstanding the diligent search, which had been made upon me, when I was shut up, I had saved some pieces of gold, which had been sown in a ribband tied about the calf of my leg, in form of a garter. I took then one of those pieces, which I broke in two, and sharpened one part so well and so long against an earthen pot, that I gave it a point, and made it cut on both sides. This I made use of as a launcet, with design to open the arteries of my arm. I took for this end all necessary precautions ; I thrust it into my arm as far as was possible ; but notwithstanding all my cares, I could not effect what I intended ; and instead of the arteries, I opened only the veins, that are above them.

Being resolved no longer to keep any measures, I contented not myself with drawing out my blood by degrees ; I let both my arms bleed, till growing faint, I laid myself down in my blood, wherewith the chamber was filled. And it is certain, that if God by a particular mercy had not directed, that at that very time the door should be opened to bring me somewhat necessary, at an hour when it was not usual for the guards to come, I had miserably lost both my life and my soul. I leave you to imagine the surprize of the guards, when they saw me in this condition. They immediately called the *Alcaide*, and all together came in. They bound up my arms, and used such methods, that I soon recovered out of that swoon, to which so considerable an evacuation of blood had reduced me. They first carried this news to the Inquisitor, who ordered they should lead me to audience, whither I was carried at four a-clock.

Lying

Lying at length upon the ground, my extreme weakness not permitting me either to stand or sit, the Inquisitor, after many reproaches, commanded them to carry me away, and put manacles upon me, to hinder me from pulling off the bands, wherewith my arms were bound up. This was immediately put in execution, and I had not only my hands chained, but also a collar of iron, that was joined to the manacles, and was shut with a padlock, so that I could not any longer move my arms.

But this proceeding served only to enrage me the more ; I threw myself upon the ground ; I ran my head against the walls and pavement. If they had suffered me to continue never so little while in this condition, my arms would infallibly have been unbound, and I could not have avoided death. But as they kept a strict eye upon me, they perceived, very well, by my actions, that severity was not seasonable ; and that it was better to try ways of gentleness : they took off my irons therefore, and endeavoured to comfort me with deceitful hopes. They changed my chamber, and once more gave me a companion, who had orders to answer for me : it was a Negroe-prisoner, but one much less tractable, than he, who had been with me before : nevertheless God, who had always preserved me from so great an unhappiness, dissipated, by his grace, the despair, wherein I was plunged. More happy herein than many others, who often murder themselves in the prisons of the Holy Office, where these unhappy persons are debarred all sorts of human comforts. My new companion stayed with me about two months ; and as soon as they perceived me to be more calm, he was taken away, although my weakness was then so great, that I could scarce rise from my bed to receive my meat at the door, which was set not above two paces from it. At last, after I had passed a year in this manner, by suffering much, I even contracted a habit of suffering : and God, after that, gave me patience enough not to make any more attempts upon my life.

C H A P. XXII.

My fourth audience, in which the Promotor formeth against me conclusions of suffering death.

I HAD been now almost eighteen months in the Inquisition, when my Judges understanding, that I was in a condition to answer, caused me to be brought the fourth time

time to audience, where they asked me whether I were, at last, resolved to confess what they had so long expected from me : To which I answering, that I could remember nothing else than what I had already confessed ; the Promotor of the Holy Office presented himself with a libel, to signify to me the informations made against me.

In all my other examinations I had accused myself, and they had contented themselves to hear my deposition, without entering into any discourse with me ; and used immediately to send me back as soon as I had ended the accusation of myself : But in this fourth examination I was accused, and time was given me to defend myself ; and they read to me in the informations made against me the things, whereof I had accused myself. The facts were true ; I had acknowledged them of my own proper motion. There was then nothing to oppose concerning the facts themselves ; but I thought it my duty to demonstrate to my Judges, that they were not so criminal as they imagined. I said then upon the account of what I had disputed concerning Baptism, that my intention was not in the least to oppose the doctrine of the Church : But that the passage, *Unless a man be born again of Water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven* (John iii. 5.) appearing to me very express, I had desired the explication of it. The Grand Inquisitor seemed surprized at this passage, which all the world knows by heart, and I was no less surprized at his surprize. He asked me where I had that passage ? From the Gospel of St. John, said I, the third chapter, and the fifth verse. He caused a New Testament to be brought, looked for the passage, but explained it not to me : It had been, nevertheless, easy to tell me, that tradition explained it sufficiently, since they always accounted to be baptized, not only those, who had suffered death for our Lord Jesus Christ, without receiving the ordinary ceremonies of Baptism, but also those, who had been surprized by death in the desire of being baptized, and in repentance of their sins.

Concerning the adoration of Images, I told him, that I had advanced nothing, which I had not taken from the Holy Council of Trent, and cited to him the passage of the 25th Session, concerning the invocation of Saints, and *Holy Images.* * *The Images of Christ, of the Mother of God,*

* *Imagines Christi, Deiparae Virginis, & aliorum Sanctorum retinendas, iisq; debitum honorem & veneracionem impertiendam, ita ut per imagines eorum, quibus procumbimus, Christum adoremus, & Sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur.* *Sess. 25.*

and of other Saints, are to be retained ; and due honour and reverence is to be paid to them, so that through their Images, to which we fall down prostrate, we may adore Christ, and venerate the Saints, whose likeness they bear. My Judge seemed much more surprized at this than at the former citation ; and having searched it in the Council of *Trent*, he shut the book without explaining the passage to me.

There is somewhat incomprehensible in this degree of ignorance in the persons, who undertake to judge others in matters of Faith ; and I confess, that I should have hardly believed these facts myself, although I saw them, and very well remember them, if I had not learn'd by the printed relations of Mr. *Tavernier*, that how reserved soever Father *Ephraim de Nevers* was, upon what respecteth the Inquisition, which had made him suffer so much, he could not forbear to say, that nothing had been more unsupportable to him than the ignorance of its Ministers.

The Promotor, in reading the information, had said, that besides all this, which I had acknowledged, I was moreover accused, and sufficiently convicted of having spoken with contempt of the Inquisition, and its Ministers, and of having held disrespectful discourses concerning the Pope, and against his authority ; and concluded, that the obstinacy, which I had hitherto manifested in contemning so many delays and charitable admonitions, which had been given to me, was a convincing proof, that I had very pernicious designs, and that my intention was to teach and foment *Heresy* ; that consequently, I had incurred the punishment of greater excommunication ; that my goods ought to be confiscated to the King's Exchequer, and myself be delivered to the Secular Power, to be punished for my crimes, according to the laws, that is, to be burnt.

I leave the reader here to imagine, what effect these cruel conclusions of the Promotor of the Holy Office produced in my soul. Yet I can assure you, that how terrible soever these words were, the death, wherewith I was then threatened, appeared to me much less formidable than the continuation of my slavery ; so that notwithstanding the trouble and grief, which seized me, upon these conclusions pronounced against me, I failed not to answer to the new accusations, which were even now signified to me, that in respect of my intentions, they had never been bad ; that I had always been a zealous Catholick ; that all those, with whom I had conversed in the *Indies*, could testify the same, particularly Father *Ambroise*, and Father *Yves*, both French Capuchins,

Capuchins, who had divers times heard me in confession : And I understood, after my departure, that Father *Yves* was actually at *Goa* at the same time, when I alledged him as a witness of my innocence ; that I had gone sixteen leagues to satisfy the duties of *Easter* ; that if I had nourished any Heresy in my heart, it had been very easy for me to propagate it in those parts of the *Indies*, where any one may live and speak with perfect freedom ; and that I would not then have chosen my habitation in the dominions of the King of *Portugal* ; that I was so far from dogmatically opposing Religion, that I had on the contrary entered divers times into dispute with the Hereticks to defend it ; that indeed I remembered myself to have spoken with too much liberty of that Tribunal, before which I then pleaded, and of the persons, which possessed it ; but that I was surprized they should make that a crime, which had been treated as a trifle, when I would have confessed it, almost a year and an half since ; that for what concerned the Pope, I remembered not to have spoken of him in that manner, which my accusations insinuated ; that nevertheless if they would tell me the particulars of it, I would sincerely confess the truth.

The Inquisitor taking me up, told me, that time should be given me, to consider of what respected the Pope ; but that he could not sufficiently admire my imprudence, in that I pretended to have confessed what related to the Inquisition, when I was most certain, that I had not opened my mouth about it ; and that if I had made any confession upon this article, in that time, when I pretended to have made it, I had not continued so long time in prison. I remembered so perfectly what had been said, and what had been answered to me, and I was moreover so transported with anger to see myself so abused, that if they had not immediately commanded me to be taken away, as soon as I had signed my deposition, I should not perhaps have contained myself from reproaching my Judge ; and if I had enjoyed as much strength and liberty as my passion gave me courage, it may be he would not have escaped with reproachful words.

C H A P. XXIII.

They carry me yet several times to audience : Divers observations upon the proceedings of the Inquisition.

I WAS yet called to audience three or four times in less than a month, and they urged me to confess that,

of I had been accused concerning the Pope. They also signified to me a new proof, which the Promotor pretended he had drawn against me upon that subject, but which contained nothing different from what he had already urged against me ; but what clearly demonstrates this accusation to have been only a falsity invented on purpose to make me confess, is, that they would not tell me the particulars of what they pretended I had spoken ; but at last perceiving it impossible to draw any thing of that nature from me, they ceased to mention it to me ; and this article was not inserted in my process, when it was publickly read in the *Act of Faith*. They endeavoured also in their last audience to make me acknowledge, that in the facts, whereof I had been accused, my intention was to defend Heresy ; but to this I would never condescend, there being nothing more contrary to truth.

During the months of *November* and *December*, I heard every morning the cries of those, who were put upon the rack ; which is so cruel a torture, that I saw divers persons both of the one and the other sex, who were distorted and maimed by it ; and among others the first companion they had assigned to me in the prison. In this Holy Tribunal no respect is made of quality, age, or sex, and all are indifferently submitted to the torture, when the interest of the Inquisition so requireth it.

I remembered to have heard it said, before I entered into the Prisons of the Holy Office, that the *Auto da Fe*, or *Act of Faith*, was ordinarily performed the first Sunday in *Advent*, because on that day is read in the Church that part of the Gospel, wherein mention is made of the last Judgment ; and that the Inquisitors pretend, by this ceremony, to make a lively and natural representation of it. I was moreover persuaded, that there was then a great number of prisoners in the Inquisition. The profound silence, which is every where observed in this House, had given me opportunity to count very near how many doors were opened at the hours of repast. I had also obtained a pretty certain knowledge, that there was arrived an Archbishop at *Goa*, in the month of *October*, after that see had been vacant near thirty years ; because they had extraordinarily rung the bells at the Cathedral for nine days together, when neither the universal Church, nor that of *Goa* in particular, celebrates any remarkable festival ; and because I knew this prelate was expected even before my imprisonment,

ment. All these reasons made me hope, that I should be at liberty in the beginning of *December*, but when I saw the first and second *Sundays of Advent* passed, I doubted not but, that either my liberty or my punishment were at least deferred for another intire year.

C H A P. XXIV.

How I perceived, that the Auto da Fe was to be performed on the morrow; and what habits were given to us to appear in this ceremony.

AS I persuaded myself, that the *Auto da Fe* was never performed but in the month of *December*, when I saw the whole month spent without observing any preparation to that terrible ceremony, I determined to suffer yet one year longer; nevertheless when I expected it least, I found myself to be in the eve of my enlargement from that long captivity, wherein I languished two years.

I observed, that on *Sunday* the 11th of *January*, 1676, being about to give my linnen after dinner to the officers to be washed, after the usual custom, they would not receive it, but put me off till the next day. I failed not to make a great many reflections upon the cause of this extraordinary refusal; and not finding any, which satisfied me, I concluded, that the *Act of Faith* was probably to be performed the next day; but I confirmed myself much more in my opinion, or rather I held it for most certain, when after I had heard it ring to *Vespers* at the Cathedral, it immediately rung to *Mattins*; which was never before done, while I was prisoner, except upon the eve of *Corpus Christi* day, which is celebrated in the *Indies* upon the *Thursday*, which immediately follows *quasi modo Sunday*, because of the continual rains, which fall there at that time, when it is celebrated in *Europe*.

They brought me my supper, which I refused, and which, contrary to their ordinary custom, they pressed me not very much to receive. At soon as the doors were shut upon me, I entirely abandoned myself to those melancholy thoughts, which possessed me; and at last, after many tears and sighs, overwhelmed with sorrow and imaginations of death, I fell asleep, a little after eleven a-clock at night.

I had not been long asleep, when my sleep was interrupted on the sudden by the noise, which the guards made in opening my door. I was surprized to see persons enter into

into my cell with a light, being not before accustomed to it ; and the time of the night contributed to redouble my apprehension. The Alcaide gave me an habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to be ready to go out, when he should come to call me ; and so withdrew, leaving in my chamber a lamp burning.

I had not upon this occasion either strength to rise, or to make any answer to him ; and from the instant, that these men quitted me, I was seized with an univeral and so violent a trembling, that for more than an hour it was not possible for me so much as to look upon the habit, which they had brought me. At last I arose, and prostrating myself upon the ground before a cross, which I painted upon the wall, I recommended myself to God, and abandoned my fortune to his protection. Then I put on the habit, which consisted of a vest, whose sleeves came down to the wrist, and a pair of drawers, which reached to the very heels ; the whole made of black stuff, stripped with white.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the preparations for the Act of Faith, and the various ornaments, which are distributed to the criminals, according to the diversity of their crimes.

I HAD not long time to wait, after I had taken the habit, which was left for me. These gentlemen, who had come the first time a little before midnight, returned at two a-clock of the morning into my chamber ; out of which they led me into a long gallery, where I found a good number of my companions in misery, ranged round about against the wall ; I put myself into my place, and there came yet divers after me.

Although there were near two hundred men in this gallery, who all observed a most profound silence, I could discern, that in this great number there were not above twelve *Europeans*, who could hardly be distinguished among the others, and that all were as well as myself, cloathed with black stuff. One might have easily taken all these persons for so many statues set against the wall, if the motion of their eyes, the use of which alone was permitted to them, had not testified them to be living creatures. The place, wherein we were thus assembled, was enlightened only by a little number of lamps, whose light was so obscure, that this joined to so many black, melancholy,

choly, and afflicted objects, seemed to be no other than a preparation for the celebration of some funeral.

The women, who were cloathed with the same stuff with us, were in the next gallery, where we could not see them ; but I observed, that in a dormitory, a little remote from ours, there were also other prisoners, and persons cloathed in black, and some in a long habit, who walked up and down. I knew not then what this meant ; but I learned after a few hours, that those, who were to be burned, were there, and that the persons, who walked about, were their Confessors.

As I knew not then the formalities of the Holy Office, whatever desire I had before to die, I then feared to be of the number of those, who were destined to the flames ; yet I recovered courage in a little time, when I considered, that I had nothing in my habit, which distinguished me from others ; and that there was no likelihood, that so great a number of persons, who were apparelled like myself, should be put to death together.

After we were all ranged against the walls of this gallery, they gave every one of us a taper of yellow wax : They then brought us other habits to put over the former, made like great scapularies ; they were of yellow stuff, with St. Andrew's crosses painted on them in red, before and behind. They use to give these sort of marks to those, who have committed, or who are esteemed to have committed crimes against the Faith of Jesus Christ, whether they be Jews, Mahometans, Sorcerers, or Hereticks, who were before Catholicks ; they call these *Grand Scapularies*, with these crosses of St. Andrew, *Sambenito's*. Those, who are accounted convicted, and who persist to deny the facts, whereof they are accused, or who are relapsed, bear another kind of scapulary, called *Samarra*, whose ground is grey. The picture of the prisoner is represented to the life upon it, both before and behind, placed upon burning torches, with flames rising up, and Devils round about ; their names and their crimes are written at the bottom of the picture ; but those, who accuse themselves after sentence is pronounced upon them, and before they are carried out of their chamber, being no relapsed persons, bear upon their *Samarra*s flames inverted, which they call *Fogo Revolto*, that is, fire inverted.

Sambenito's were distributed to twenty of the *Blacks*, who were accused of magick, and to one *Portuguese*, convicted of the same crime, who moreover was a *new Christian*.

As they would revenge themselves upon by halves, and that they were resolved to insult over me to the end, they forced me to put on a like habit to that of the Sorcerers and Hereticks, although I had always made profession of the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman* Faith, which my Judges might easily have known from an infinite number of persons, as well strangers, as of mine own Nation, with whom I had lived in divers parts of the *Indies*.

My fears redoubled, when I saw myself thus habited, because it seemed to me, that there being among so great a number of prisoners no more than two and twenty persons, to whom these disgraceful *Sambenito's* were given, it might very well happen, that these should be the persons, to whom no mercy was to be extended.

After this distribution, five bonnets of paper were brought in, rising up in a point like a sugar-loaf, all covered with Devils and flames of fire, with a writing round about expressing this word, *feiticero*, that is, *Sorcerer*; they call these bonnets *Carrochas*; they set them upon the heads of so many persons the most guilty of all the rest among those who were accused of Magick; and as those persons stood very near me, I then believed they would not fail to present one to me also, which yet did not happen. I then made no doubt almost but these miserable men were those designed to be burnt; and as themselves were no better instructed at that time in the formalities of the Holy Office, I was assured by them afterwards, that at that moment they believed their destruction to be inevitable.

Every one being thus adorned according to the quality of his crimes, we were permitted to sit down on the ground expecting new orders. At four of the clock of the morning the servants of the house came following the guards, to distribute bread and figs to those, who would accept them; but although I had not supped the night before, I found in myself so small an appetite for eating, that I had taken nothing, if one of the guards coming near me had not said, Take your bread; and if you cannot eat it now, put it into your pocket, for you will be certainly hungry before you return. The words of this man brought great comfort to me, and dissipated all my fears by the hopes, which he gave of my return, which induced me to follow his advice.

At last, after we had waited a long while, the day appeared at five a-clock; and I could then observe upon the faces of everyone present, the different motions of shame, of grief,

grief, and of fear, wherewith they were then tormented : For although they felt no small joy in seeing themselves upon the point of being delivered from so cruel and insupportable a captivity, yet this joy was very much diminished by the fear, wherein every one was, of what would become of himself.

C H A P. XXVI.

How we went in procession to the Act of Faith. The order of this ceremony.

THE great bell of the Cathedral Church was rung a little before the rising of the sun, which was as the signal to advertise the people to run together, to see the august ceremony of the *Auto da Fe*, or *Act of Faith*; and first, they made us go out one by one. I observed in passing from the gallery into the great hall, that the Inquisitor sat at the door, having a Secretary by him ; that the hall was filled with inhabitants of *Goa*, whose names were written in a list, which he held in his hands ; and that at the same time any prisoner was brought forth, they called one of these gentlemen, who were in the hall, who immediately came up to the criminal to accompany him, and serve him as a godfather in the *Act of Faith*.

These godfathers receive the persons in charge, whom they accompany, are obliged to answer for them, and to produce them when the festival is ended ; and the Inquisitors pretend to do them great honour, when they choose them for this office. I had for godfather the General of the *Portuguese* ships in the *Indies*. I went out of the hall with him, and as soon as I was in the street, I saw that the procession began by order of the *Dominicans*, who have this noble privilege, because St. *Dominick*, their founder, was also of the Inquisition. They were preceded by the banner of the Holy Office, wherein the image of the founder is represented in very rich embroidery, holding a sword in one hand, and in the other a branch of olive, with this inscription, *Justitia & Misericordia*. These monks are followed by the prisoners, who walk one after the other, having every one his godfather at his side, and a taper in his hand. Those, who are less guilty, go first ; and as I passed not for one of the more innocent, there were more than a hundred preceded me. I had, as all the rest, my head and feet naked, and I was very much troubled during

all this march, which continued for an hour almost, because of the little flint stones, wherewith the streets of *Goa* are scattered, which made my feet bleed abundantly. They made us walk through all the greater streets; and we were gazed on by an innumerable croud of people, who had run together from all parts of the *Indies*, and who lined all the streets, through which we were to pass; for they took care to give notice to the parish priests in the parishes of more remote places, a long time before the *Act of Faith* was performed. At last, covered with shame and confusion, and very weary of the march, we arrived at the Church of *St. Francis*, which for this time was destined and prepared for the *Act of Faith*. The great altar was spread with black; and there were upon it six silver candlesticks, with so many tapers of white wax burning. There were raised on the sides of the altar two kind of thrones, the one on the right-hand for the Inquisitor and his Counsellors, the other on the left for the Viceroy and his Court.

At some distance, and over-against the great altar, inclining a little towards the door, was placed another, whereon was laid two missals open. From thence to the door of the Church was made a gallery about three foot broad, with a balister on each side; and both on one side, and the other, were placed benches for the criminals and their godfathers to sit on, who accordingly seated themselves in order, as they entered into the Church, so that those, who came in first, sat very near the altar.

As soon as I was entered, and placed in my rank, I applied myself to consider the order, which they made those observe, who came after me. I saw that those, to whom those horrible carrochas, of which I spake, were given, marched last in our whole troop; that immediately after them a great crucifix was carried, whose face was towards those, who marched before; and which was followed by two living persons, and four statues of the height of a man, represented very naturally, fixed every one to the end of a long pole, and accompanied with so many little chests, borne each by a man, and filled with the bones of those whom these statues represented. The face of the Crucifix turned toward those, who went before it, signifieth the mercy, which is used in respect of them, in delivering them from death, although they had justly deserved it: and the same Crucifix turning the back upon them, that followed it, signifieth, that those unfortunate persons have no more

favour to hope for. For so it is, that all is mysterious in the Holy Office.

The habits, wherewith these miserable persons were cloathed, were no less capable of striking horror and pity into the beholders: both the living persons and statues bore a samarra of grey stuff, all painted over with devils, flames, and burning fire-brands, upon which the head of the prisoner was represented to the life before and behind, with his sentence written below, containing in great characters his name, that of his country, and the crime, for which he was condemned. Beside this terrible habit they had also upon their heads those dreadful carrochas, covered, as their vestments, with flames and devils. The little cof-fers, wherein were inclosed the bones of those, who were dead, and against whom process had been made, either before or after their decease, during or before their imprisonment, that so occasion might be given to the confiscation of their goods, were painted with black, and covered also with devils and flames.

It must be here observed, that the Inquisition terminates not its jurisdiction upon living persons, or upon those, who died in her prison; but sometimes forms a proces against persons, who died many years before they were accused, when after their decease they are charged with any great crime; in this case, they are digged up, and if they be convicted, their bones are burned at the *Act of Faith*, and all their goods are confiscated, whereof those are carefully despoiled, who have inherited them: And I advance nothing, which I have not seen practised; since among the statues, which were seen, when I came out of the Inquisition, there was one, which represented a man dead a long time before, whose proces they had formed, whose body they digged up, and whose goods were confiscated, and his bones burnt, or it may be those of some other, who had been buried in the same place.

C H A P. XXVII.

Containing what was observed in the place, wherein the Act of Faith was celebrated.

THESE unhappy persons being entered in that dreadful equipage, which I have already described, and being seated in their places, which were appointed for them near the door of the Church, the Inquisitor followed

with his officers, entered, and went to place himself upon the Tribunal, which was erected for him upon the right side of the altar, while the Viceroy and his Court seated themselves upon the left. The crucifix was placed upon the altar between the six candlesticks. Every one being thus settled in his post, and the Church filled with as many people as it could contain, the Provincial of the *Augustini-ans* ascended the pulpit, and preached for half an hour. Notwithstanding the anxiety of mind, wherein I then was, I could not but observe the comparison, which he then made of the Inquisition, with the ark of *Noah*, between which yet he found this difference, that the animals, which entered into the ark, went out again after the deluge, invested with the same nature, which they had when they entered in : but the Inquisition had the admirable property to change in such sort those, who are shut up in it, that in coming out we see those to be as lambs, who, when they entered in, had the cruelty of wolves, and the fierceness of lions. The sermon being finished, two readers went up one after another into the same pulpit, to read there publickly the proces of all the criminals, and to signify to them the punishments, to which they were condemned. He, whose proces was read, was during that time led by the Alcaide into the middle of the gallery, where he stood upright, holding a taper lighted in his hand, till his sentence was pronounced. And as it was supposed, that all the criminals had incurred the punishment of greater excommunication, they led us to the foot of the altar, whereon lay the missals ; where being placed on our knees, they made us lay our hands upon one of these books, and remain in that posture, till there were as many persons as missals. Then the reader discontinued reading of the proces, to pronounce with a loud voice a confession of Faith, after he had briefly exhorted the criminals to repeat it with heart and mouth at the same time with him ; which being done, every one returned to his place, and the reading of the proces was began anew.

I was called in my order, and understood, that my case turned upon these three heads : The first, for having maintained the invalidity of the baptism, called *Flaminis*. The second, for having said, that Images ought not to be adored, and having blasphemed the image of the crucifix, in saying of a crucifix of ivory, that it was a piece of ivory. And lastly, for having spoken contemptuously of the Inquisition,

quisition, and its Ministers ; but above all, for the ill intention, which I had in speaking all these things. For which crimes I was declared excommunicate ; and for reparation thereof, my goods were confiscated to the King's account, and myself banished from the *Indies*, and condemned to serve in the gallies of *Portugal* five years ; and moreover, to perform other penalties, which should be enjoined to me in particular by the Inquisitors.

Of all these punishments, the most insupportable to me, was to see myself in an indispensable necessity of quitting the *Indies*, where I had resolved to travel a yet much longer time. This sorrow, nevertheless, was not so great, but that it was much allayed by the hope of seeing myself shortly out of the hands of the *Holy Office*. My confession of Faith being made, I returned to my place, and received advantage from the advice, which my guard had given me, of not refusing my bread ; for the ceremony continuing all the day, there was no person, who did not that day eat in the Church.

C H A P. XXVIII.

They absolve us from excommunication, and deliver those to the Secular Power, who were to be burned : What was observed upon this occasion.

AFTER they had ended to read the proces of all those, to whom they extended their mercy in saving their lives, the Inquisitor left his seat to put on his *albe* and *stole* ; and being accompanied with about twenty priests, who had every one a wand in his hand, he came into the middle of the Church, where, after he had made divers prayers, we were absolved from the excommunication, which they pretended we had incurred, by means of a blow, which the priest gave to every one of us upon his habit. I cannot forbear to relate here a thing, which will shew to what degree the *Portugueze* superstition proceeds in all things, which have any relation to the Inquisition ; which is, that during the procession, and the whole time of our stay in the Church, he, who served me as a godfather, would never answer me, although I had spoken to him divers times ; and that he even refused to give a little snuff, which I had desired of him ; so much did he fear to be involved in the censure, wherewith he supposed me bound. But as soon as I was absolved, he embraced me, gave me snuff,

snuff, and told me, that he then acknowledged me for his brother, since the Church had absolved me.

This ceremony being ended, and the Inquisitor returned to his place, they brought out one after the other those unhappy victims, who were to be sacrificed by the Holy Inquisition. There were a man, a woman, and the representation of four dead men, with the little chests, wherein their bones were inclosed. The man and woman were Indian Blacks and Christians, accused of magick, and condemned as relapsed. Of the four statues, two represented also two men, held for convicted of magick ; and the two others two men, who had been new Christians, and were accused to have Judaized ; of whom the one had died in prison, the other in his own house, and had been buried long since in his parish ; but being accused of Judaism after his death, as he had left very considerable riches, they took care to pluck him out of his grave, and take away his bones to burn them at the *Act of Faith*, after they had formed a process against him. We may see hereby, that the Holy Office is not contented to attribute to itself the infallibility of Jesus Christ, but that they would also, as well as he, exercise their authority upon the living and the dead.

The several processes of these unfortunate persons were read, which were all ended with these words, That the Inquisition could not shew any mercy to them, because of their relapse and their impenitence ; and that finding themselves indispensably obliged to punish them according to the rigour of the laws, they delivered them to the Secular Arm and Justice, whom they earnestly desired to use clemency and mercy towards these miserable wretches ; and that if they would lay upon them the punishment of death, it might be at least without effusion of blood. At the last words of the Inquisitors, a Serjeant of the Secular Justice approached, and took possession of those unfortunate persons ; after they had received a light blow upon the breast from the hand of the Alcaide of the Holy Office, in token, that they were abandoned by him. See the great kindness of the Inquisition to intercede thus for guilty persons ! The extream condescendance of the Magistrates, to choose rather, in complaisance to the Inquisition, to content himself to burn these criminals to the very marrow of their bones, than to use the power, which he hath, of shedding their blood.

Thus was ended, in respect of us, the famous ceremony of the *Auto da Fe*, or *Act of Faith* ; and while these miserable

able wretches were led along the bank of the river, where the Viceroy and his Court were assembled, and where the piles, upon which they were to be sacrificed, were prepared the day before, we were led back to the Inquisition by our godfathers, without observing any order. Although I was not present at the execution of these persons thus abandoned by the *Holy Office*, nevertheless as I was fully informed by persons, who have oft-times seen the like execution, I will here relate, in few words, the ceremonies, which were there observed.

As soon as the condemned persons are arrived at the place, where the Secular Judges are assembled, they ask them, in what Religion they will die, without informing themselves, in the least, of their processes, which they suppose to have been perfectly well managed, and the persons most justly condemned; since no doubt is to be made of the infallibility of the Inquisition. As soon as they have answered to this one question, the Executioner seizeth them, and tieth them to posts upon the pile, where they are first strangled, if they die Christians, and burnt alive, if they persist in Judaism or Heresy; which happens so seldom, that scarce one instance is to be seen in four *Acts of Faith*, although there are very few, in which are not burned a good number of persons.

The day after the execution, the images of those, who are put to death, are brought into the Churches of the *Dominicans*; their head only is represented to the life, placed upon kindled fire-brands; at the bottom is put their name, that of their father and their country, the quality of their crimes, for which they were condemned, with the year, the month, and the day of the execution.

If the person, who was to be burnt, had twice relapsed into the same crime, they put these words at the bottom of the portrait; *Morreo queimado por hereje relapso*, which signifieth, that he was burned for a relapsed Heretick. If having been accused but once, he persevereth in his error, they put, *Por hereje contumas*, for an obstinate Heretick; but as this case is very rare, so there are very few of these portraits. Lastly, if having been thus accused but once by a sufficient number of witnesses, he persisteth to profess himself innocent, and at the same time professeth Christianity to the very death, they put at the bottom of the table, *Morreo queimado por hereje convicto negativo*, which is to say, that he was burnt as a convicted Heretick, but who confessed

fessed not. And of this last kind a great number of portraits may be seen. We may hold it for certain, that of an hundred negatives, there are at least ninety-nine, who are not only innocent of the crimes, which they deny, but who have, beside that innocence, the merit of chusing rather to die, than to tell a lie in confessing themselves guilty of a crime, of which they are really innocent. For it is not possible, that a man assured to save his life, if he confesseth, would persist to deny, and chuse rather to be burnt, than acknowledge a truth, the confession of which will save his life. These terrible representations are placed in the nave of the Church, and over the highest door of the Church, as so many illustrious trophies consecrated to the glory of the *Holy Office*; and when this part of the Church is all over hung, they place them in the side-isles near the door. Those, who have been at *Lisbon*, and have seen the great Church of the *Dominicans*, which is not far from the *Holy House of the Inquisition*, may have observed many hundreds of these sad pictures.

C H A P. XXIX.

My last enlargement from the Inquisition. They bring us into a house in the town, to cause us to be there some days instructed.

I WAS so weary and so dispirited at my return from the *Act of Faith*, that had almost no less desire to re-enter into my lodging to rest myself, than I had some days before to go out of it. My godfather accompanied me in the hall; and the Alcaide having conducted me into the gallery, I went and shut up myself, while they brought in the rest. I first cast myself upon my bed expecting supper, which was nothing else but bread and figs, the trouble of the day having hindered them from preparing any thing in the kitchen. I slept much better this night, than I had done of a long time; but when the day appeared, I expected impatiently what they would do with me: When the Alcaide came at six a-clock to demand of me the habit, which I had wore at the procession, I would have given him the *Sambenito*; but he would not receive it, because I was to be cloathed with it on all festivals and *Sundays*, till I had intirely performed my sentence. At seven a-clock they brought my breakfast, and a little after I was warned to pack up all my goods, and be ready to go when called. I obeyed this order with all possible

possible diligence ; and at nine a-clock a guard having opened my door, I laid my bundle upon my shoulders, and followed them into the great hall, where the greatest part of the prisoners were already. After I had been there some time, I saw about twenty enter, who had been the day before condemned to be whipped, and who then received it from the hand of the hangman through all the streets of the town. Being thus all assembled, the Inquisitor appeared, before whom we fell upon our knees to receive his blessing, after we had kissed the ground near his feet. Then they commanded the Blacks, who had little or no luggage, to take up and carry that of the Whites. Those among the prisoners, who were not Christians, were sent immediately to the places appointed by the sentence, some into banishment, others to the gallies, or into the house where they make powder, called *Casa de polvera* ; and those, who were Christians, as well Whites as Blacks, were led into a house, which was hired on purpose in the town, to be there instructed for some time.

The halls and the galleries of the lodgings were appointed for the the Blacks to lye in ; and we Whites were put into a separate chamber, where they shut us up at night, leaving us in the day-time the liberty of walking about the house, and speaking with those, who were there, or who came from other places to see us. Every day two catechisings were held, one for the Blacks, and the other for the Whites. Mass was celebrated every day, at which we were all present, as well at morning as at evening.

While I stayed in this house, I was visited by a *Dominican* Frier, one of my friends, whom I had known at *Daman*, where he had been Prior of his order. This good Father, loaded with diseases and years, no sooner knew, that I was enlarged, but he put himself into a palanquin to come and see me : he wept at my disaster, and embraced me tenderly, assuring me he had been in great fears for my sake, that he had often inquired concerning my health and my affairs of the Father-Procurator of the prisoners, who was his friend, and of the same order with himself ; that nevertheless for a long while he could obtain no answer from him ; and that at last, after many sollicitations, he could draw no more from him than this, That I was still alive. I received great comfort from the sight of this good Monk ; and the necessity, which was imposed on me of quitting the *Indies*, created equal sorrow to us both. He had farther the goodness to visit me several times, invited me to

return to the Indies as soon as I should be at liberty, and sent me divers provisions for the voyage I was to make, which the condition and necessity, wherein I then was, permitted me not to hope for from other hands.

C H A P. XXX.

They bring me again to the Inquisition, to receive the Penances, which were imposed on me.

AFTER we had stayed in this house till the 23d of January, we were conducted once more into the hall of the Inquisition, and from thence called every one in his turn to the table of the Holy Office, to receive there from the hands of the Inquisitor a paper containing the penances, to which it had pleased him to condemn us. I went in my order, and was made to kneel down, after I had before laid my hands on the Gospel, and promised in this posture, to keep inviolable secrecy of all things, which had happened, and which I had seen and observed during my imprisonment.

I received after that, from the hand of my Judge, a writing signed by himself, containing the things which were to be performed by me; and as this memoir is not very long, I thought it convenient to insert it here word for word.

A list of the penances, which N. N. ought to perform.

I. *For the three next years he shall confess himself, and communicate; the first year every month, and the two following years on the feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, and the Assumption of our Lady.*

II. *He shall bear mass and sermon upon Sundays and holidays, if he hath convenience.*

III. *He shall repeat, during the said three years, five times every day the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, in honour of the five wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

IV. *He shall never enter into friendship, nor have any particular commerce with Hereticks, or persons, whose faith is suspected, who may prejudice his salvation.*

V. *And lastly, He shall keep exactly the secret of all, that he hath seen, heard, or said, or which hath been acted concerning him, either at the Table, or at any places of the Holy Office.*

Signed

Francisco Delgado e Matos.

Having received this writing I kissed the ground, and returned into the hall, to wait there, till the like writing should

should be given to all the rest. In going out they separated us ; and I know not what became of the greatest part of our company, or whither they were sent. We remained together not above twelve, who were led into the *al Jourvar*, which is that prison of the Office, wherein I was put the first day that I came to *Goa*, before I entered into the Inquisition. I stayed there till the 25th, when an officer of the Holy Office clapping irons upon my feet, carried me into a ship, which was in the road, ready to set sail for *Portugal*.

C H A P. XXXI.

Containing some observations upon all that hath been hitherto said.

BEFORE I continue the account of my adventures, I believe it will not be unreasonable to make some reflections upon all that hath been said. I will begin then by the consideration of the principal acts of injustice committed in the Inquisition ; of which the first is the treachery of the Commissary of *Daman* ; who, after I had confessed to him what I had said, and what relateth to the Holy Office, gave me so insincere advice, that he ceased not to arrest me, to satisfy the passion of the Governor, although the Inquisition uses not to apprehend those, who voluntarily accuse themselves, before they are put in prison. I am not ignorant of what this Father said to defend himself from this imputation, that I had not accused myself in due form ; but any one may easily perceive, that this is a new trick, for he ought to have taught me the form. I was young, and a stranger, and should immediately have satisfied him ; but it was necessary for him to make use of this miserable pretext to satisfy the Governor.

The second thing, of which I think myself to have reason to complain, in respect of the same Commissary, is, that he maliciously kept me at *Daman* till the month of *January* ; instead of which, if he had sent me to *Goa*, immediately after my imprisonment, my case might have been examined and ended before the end of *November* ; and I should have been enlarged at the *Act of Faith*, which was performed that very year in the beginning of *December* ; whereas not sending me to *Goa*, till the *Act of Faith* was ended, I was forced to stay in the prisons of the Holy Office two years longer than I should have done ; because scarce any enlargement of the prisoners is ever made, but at that terrible ceremony called the *Act of Faith* ; and as that is performed but from two to two, or from three to three

years, it is a double unhappines for those, that are shut up in these *Holy Prisons*, to be carried thither immediately after this jayl-delivery, because they are obliged to wait there till there be a sufficient number of persons to render the *Act of Faith* more illustrious.

The refusal, which the Inquisitor made at my third audience to receive my confession, touching what I had said concerning the Inquisition, and his injustice in daring to maintain, that I had not confessed this fact, which he made so great a crime long after, was one of those things, which most afflicted me, during my imprisonment, and is none of the least grievances, which I have to complain of.

I might also justly complain of this, that the Inquisition desiring to lay a new snare for me, when I accused myself of what I had said concerning the Holy Office, and what had happened a long time before to Father *Ephraim de Nevers*, asked me, if I would defend the errors of that Monk. But although I knew very well, that the innocence of this Father had been fully manifested, and that he had been arrested merely upon envy, I answered, that I pretended not to defend any person, being sufficiently troubled to defend myself.

I had moreover methinks all reason to believe, that they had an intention to please the Viceroy, and Governor of *Daman* his cousin, in sending me into *Portugal*; since of more than two hundred persons, who went with me out of the Inquisition, I alone was obliged to leave the *Indies*, and go for *Europe*.

The cruelty of the guards, who often used me very ill both in words and actions, and forced me unwillingly to eat my meat, and take remedies, when I was sick, deserves also in my mind some consideration; for although the guards have reason to force the accused persons to eat their meat, and take remedies; they might use in respect of them the same method, which is used in respect of other sick persons, who are not wont to receive the stirrup-leather, or bastinadoes, to make them take the prescriptions of their physicians.

I will add, that although the Inquisition granteth something of safe conducts to those, who being in a place of security, will come and accuse themselves; yet it is best not to trust them too much, since they make no great scruple in this Holy Tribunal, to violate the promise, which they have made; and when they have a mind to it, they will find pretexts enough not to keep it, which I will prove by an example. I knew

I knew at *Surat* a Monk, of the order of St. *Dominick*, called Father *Hyacinthe*, who for many years had quitted his convent and his habit, living in a very dissolute and scandalous manner. It happened afterwards, that a woman, with whom he had lived a long time, and by whom he had divers children, died. This loss touched him, and produced in him a resolution of changing his life. He resolved then to return into his convent at *Bacaim*; but because all the *Portuguese*, and above all, the priests and religious persons, who have passed any considerable time among the Infidels, are obliged in returning into the *Portuguese* dominions, to present themselves to the Inquisition, and make there an exact declaration of the manner of their past life, if they would prevent their being compelled to it by force; this Monk, whose conscience perhaps was touched with something relating to the Holy Office, before he left *Surat*, wrote to the Inquisitor at *Goa* for a safe conduct, that so he might come to present and accuse himself, which was granted him. With this slight assurance he departed, and came to *Bacaim*, where he was not suffered to resume the religious habit, without having first cleared himself before the Inquisitors; upon which he went to *Goa*, presented himself at the table of the Holy Office, whither he was several times called; and at last having been sufficiently examined, he was absolved and sent back to the Vicar-General of his order, who restored him the habit, and again authorized him to discharge the functions of a Preacher and Confessor. He thinking all was over, prepared for his departure to *Bacaim*, where was his first convent, when being just ready to imbark in a galliot, he was hurried away to the prisons of the Holy Office, whose Ministers had not so easily granted him absolution, were it not the easier to perform their design, that it might not be said they had violated their word, and the safe conduct they had given him; at the same time they spread about a report, that since his absolution, discovery had been made of crimes, of which he had not accused himself.

This Monk, who was clapped up a few days after me, remained there after I got out, as appears by his not being mentioned in the *Act of Faith*, and his proces not being read, which would certainly have been done, had he died in prison; so that in all probability he must continue there till the next *Act of Faith*. I had this relation from a Monk of the same order, who visited me after my delivery. And this example ought to teach those, who travel, or live in those

those countries, where the Inquisition is established, not only to be circumspect in their words and actions, but also never to rely too much on assurances, or safe conducts, granted them by the Inquisitors, or their Commissaries, how little soever occasion of mistrust they may seem to have.

C H A P. XXXII.

History of Joseph Pereira de Meneses.

AS nothing instructeth better than examples, I will here succinctly relate what happened to one of the most considerable gentlemen of *Goa*, named *Joseph Pereira de Meneses*; who having been Captain-General of the fleet of the King of *Portugal*, was commanded by the Governor of the *Indies* (the office of Viceroy being then vacant) to go with his ships to the relief of the town of *Diu*, then besieged by the *Arabians*. He departed, and arriving at *Bacaim*, was constrained to stay there a longer time than he had intended, because the winds were contrary; so that the *Arabians* came down to *Diu*, sacked it, and returned laden with pillage, before the arrival of the relief. The General, who was come too late, having given his orders returned to *Goa*; where he was scarce arrived, but the Governor, who was then *Antonio de Mello de Castro*, a sworn enemy of *Joseph Pereira*, caused him to be apprehended, formed his process; and because neither the Governor, nor even the Viceroy, have power to put gentlemen to death, without receiving an express order from the Court of *Portugal*, *Antonio de Mello*, not being able to take away the life of his enemy, pronounced against him a sentence, the execution of which was more cruel than death itself, condemning him to be led through the great streets of the city, by the hand of the hangman, with an halter about his neck, a quenouille at his side, and an herald walking before, and proclaiming, that this justice was performed by order of the King, on the person of this criminal, attainted and convicted of cowardice and treason.

This cruel sentence was executed, notwithstanding the solicitations of the friends of the prisoner; who, after he was led about in this infamous posture, was carried back into prison, whither he was scarce returned, when a *Familiar of the Holy Office* came to apprehend him, and carry him to the Inquisition.

This new accident surprized the whole city, as knowing that *Pereira* could not be accused of Judaism, being no *New Christian*;

Christian; and that he had always lived in good esteem. They expected therefore with impatience the next *Act of Faith*, to see the end of this business. But this ceremony being performed after a year, he was not seen to appear, nor was his process heard to be read, which increased the astonishment of all. We are to know, that *Joseph Pereira* had a long time since had a quarrel with a gentleman of his acquaintance, with whom he had been afterwards reconciled. This false friend, who had not lost his design of revenging himself, suborned with money five domestick servants of *Pereira*, to accuse him to the Inquisition as guilty of sodomy; and produced these five witnesses, who deposed they had seen him commit this crime with one of his pages: whereupon the two accused persons were apprehended. The page, who had less constancy than his master, whom he knew to be, as well as himself, in the prisons of the *Holy Office*, and not doubting but that he was accused of the same crime, whereof the Promotor pretended himself to be guilty, terrified by the threats of the Inquisitors, and fearing to be burnt, as he would in truth have been, if he had persisted to deny the fact, and seeing no other means to save his life, but by confessing himself guilty, accused himself of a crime, which he never committed, and so became a seventh witness against his master, the informer being accounted one, according to the maxims of the Inquisition. His confession saved his life, and being freed at the first *Act of Faith*, he was condemned to be banished to *Mozambique*.

Nevertheless as *Pereira* persisted to maintain his innocence, they condemned him to the fire; and he had been carried to be burnt at the same *Act of Faith*, wherein his page appeared, if the continual protestations, which he made of his innocence, had not induced his Judges to defer the execution of his sentence, to try, whether in time they could oblige him to confess; or if they could not obtain more light in his case, they then reserved him to another *Act of Faith*, which was performed a year after, the prisons being then sooner than ordinarily filled. During this year, the accuser and his witnesses were examined divers times, and one of the Judges resolving to examine the witnesses separately, whether on that night, wherein they pretended to have seen their master commit this detestable crime, the moon shone or not; the witnesses agreeing not in the answer, which they made to this question, were put to the rack, where they disowned all, which they had testified

tified against their master. His innocence being thus clearly manifested, the accusers were apprehended; *Periera* came out innocent at the first *Act of Faith*, and the witnesses two years after, at the same time with myself; when the first were condemned to the gallies for five years, and that gentleman banished for nine years into the coasts of *Africa*.

It is easy to judge, that the confronting of witnesses might have freed the Inquisitors from this trouble, and the accused person from the danger of being sacrificed by the hands of the Holy Office, to the fury and malice of his enemy; who, in my opinion, ought, together with his accomplices, to have been punished with the same kind of death, which they intended to have inflicted on an innocent person. And we cannot doubt, but that this clemency of the Holy Office, exercised so openly towards such gross offenders, often gives encouragement to the like attempts.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Of what happened to some other persons, who together with me were enlarged at the Act of Faith.

TWO young gentlemen married about *Bacaim*, who served the King of *Portugal* in his navy, took care of a young *Portuguese* soldier, who waited on them. These gentlemen being at *Goa* at the end of the campaign, and desiring to go and pass at their houses the rainy season, which is called *winter* in the *Indies*, left this young soldier at *Goa*, where he pretended to have some business, and therefore would follow them some days after. This young man immediately after the departure of these gentlemen married in *Goa*, from whence he departed two days after his marriage, and arrived at *Bacaim* four days after his masters, to whom he gave no account of what he had done in their absence. A little while after a match being offered to him, which seemed advantageous to him, he resolved to make use of the occasion by marrying a second time. To this end his masters were desired to certify to the Curate, that he was a single person, which they did, not knowing that he was already married. Not long after this second marriage he had a desire to see his first wife at *Goa*; whither the brother of the second wife being resolved to follow him, he found out his first marriage, and accused him to the Inquisition, who caused him to be apprehended, and knowing who they were, that had certified him to be a single

a single man, sent orders to the Commissary of *Bacaim* to seize them. So these two gentlemen, more unhappy than guilty, were sent to *Goa* with irons on their feet, and shut up in the prison of the Holy Office. Having remained there eighteen months, they were at last produced in the *Act of Faith*, and were condemned to a triennial banishment into the coasts of *Africk*; and he, who had been married twice, was banished into the same quarter for seven years, after which he was to return to, and live with his first wife.

One of these gentlemen was of the race of New Christians; and as these unhappy persons are always suspected to be bad Christians, the Inquisitors examined him at the audience, to know, if he were not a *Jew*; and if he had not had some knowledge of the law of *Moses*? This poor man stupified with these questions, and fearing, that the unhappiness of his birth would draw upon him, in this occasion, some misfortune; and besides not very well instructed in the Christian Religion, imagining himself to say one of the finest things in the world, and most proper to justify himself, blasphemed *Moses*, and said that he had nothing to do with him, and that he knew him not; which his Judges laughed at very pleasantly.

Among those, who were enlarged at the *Act of Faith*, I observed one, who had a gag in his mouth, fastened to his ears with packthread. I learned from the reading of his process, that this punishment was inflicted on him for having used divers blasphemies in play. This blasphemer, besides the shame of appearing in this equipage, was moreover condemned to a banishment of five years.

C H A P. XXXIV.

My departure from Goa, my arrival first at Brasil, and then at Lisbon.

I WAS led with irons on my feet into a ship, which was then in the road, ready to set sail for *Portugal*. They put me into the hands of the master of the ship, who was charged to deliver me to the Inquisition at *Lisbon*. And the Captain having received his last dispatches, we weighed anchor the 27th of *January*, 1676. and the same day my irons was taken off. Our voyage was prosperous as far as *Brasil*, where we arrived in *May*. As soon as they had cast anchor in the Bay of *All Saints*, the master, under whose guard I was, caused me to land with him, and brought me to the Palace of the Governor, and from thence to the

common prison, where he delivered me into the hands of the Taylor.

I was detained in this prison all the while the ship stayed in the haven ; but by the favour of some friends, whom I gained in this country, I obtained, during my stay, the liberty of going out of prison in the day time, and being shut up only in the night. The prison of this town is the neatest of all those, which I had hitherto seen, except those of the *Holy Office*. Beside the low rooms, which are tolerably clean and lightsome, there are above-stairs divers rooms for persons less guilty, more rich, or better recommended. There is also a chapel, wherein Mass is celebrated upon *Sundays* and holidays. And there are in this town so great a number of charitable persons, that the prisoners suffer no want. We re-embarked in the beginning of *September* to go for *Lisbon* ; but this last passage was not so favourable, as was that from the *Indies* to *Brasil*.

There happened to me an accident, during this voyage, which deserveth to be here mentioned. Approaching one day the *Holy Table*, to receive the adorable body of Jesus Christ, he, from whose hands I received it, who was a *Cordelier* of the Observant Friars, observed, that I shut my eyes, while he pronounced these words, *Domine non sum dignus* ; and although I had no other intention in this action, than of humbling myself in the presence of my God ; this good Father, who had already entertained a bad opinion of me, because I had been in the Inquisition, so ill interpreted this mark of my Devotion, that he could not forbear from reproaching me many days after, and telling me, that he had no reason to doubt, but that I was still an Heretick, since I vouchsafed not so much as to look upon our Lord, when he was presented to me in the Communion. I leave you to think, whether the judgment, which this Monk made then of me, was not of the number of those, which are called rash. However, I endeavoured to defend myself, and declare my intention to him ; but he still assured me, that after an action of that nature, he could not any longer retain a favourable opinion of me.

C H A P. XXXV.

They bring me to the Galere. A description of that place.

AS soon as anchor was cast in the haven of *Lisbon*, the master, under whose guard I then was, gave notice of my arrival to the Inquisition, whither I was carried the next

next day, and from thence, by order of the Inquisitors, who vouchsafed not to see me, I was led to the prison called the *Galere*, which beareth this name, because there being no gallies in *Portugal*, those, whom the Holy Office, or Lay Judges, condemn to that punishment, are sent thither. They clapt a chain upon my foot, to which was chained a *Portuguese*, who had escaped the fire, by confessing the evening before he was to be burnt by order of the *Holy Office*.

In this *Galere* all criminals are chained two and two together by one foot, only with a chain about a foot long. The prisoners have at their waste a hook of iron, whereunto hang their chain, and there remains yet about three foot of chain between them. These couples are sent every day to labour at the work-house, where they build the ships ; they carry wood to the Carpenters, unload the ships, pick out stones and sand for ballast, carry water and victuals aboard for the voyages, serve to make ropes, and all other uses, wherein they can be employed for the service of the Prince, or of the Officers, who command them, how vile and rude soever they be.

There are found among these galley-slaves persons condemned by the Inquisition, others by the Lay Judges, fugitive and incorrigible slaves, whom their masters put into this place to chastize them, and correct *Turks*, who have been taken prisoners in the pirate ships of *Barbary*. All these persons, of whatsoever quality they be, are indifferently employed in base and painful labours ; unless they have money to give to the officers, who conduct them, and who exercise an unheard-of cruelty upon those, who cannot soften them from time to time.

This land gally is built upon the bank of the river ; it hath two great halls, the one above, the other below, both are filled, and the coupled prisoners laid upon couches with matts ; all their heads and beards are shaved once a month, they wear a coat made close to their bodies, and caps of blue cloth. They also allow to them an hood of coarse grey serge, which serveth them as well for a mantle in the day, as for a coverlet in the night ; and these are all the garments, which are given to them from six to six months, toge'her with shirts of coarse cloth.

They give to every one a pound and an half of very hard and black biscuit to eat every day ; six pounds of salt flesh every month, with a dish full of pease, lentils, or beans : this allowance they may order as they please. Those, who

receive any supply from other-where, sell this fare to buy somewhat better, according to their ability. No wine is allowed to them, and those, who drink it, buy it at their own cost : every day betimes in the morning, except on some very few festivals, they are led to the work-house, which is a good half league from the gally, where they labour without any intermission, on whatsoever they are employed till eleven a-clock : they then cease working till one a-clock, and during this interval they may either eat or rest themselves ; at one a-clock they return to their labour, continuing it till night, when they are sent back to the gally.

There is in this prison a chapel, wherein mass is said *on Sundays* and festivals. There are at *Lisbon* charitable Clergymen, who come often to catechise and exhort the gally-slaves. Beside the victuals, which the Prince giveth them, they receive very often alms, so that no want is there suffered ; when there are any sick persons, the Physicians and Surgeons come to visit them, and if the disease grow dangerous, all the Sacraments are administred to them. Those, who commit any fault, are whipped in a most cruel manner. They stretch them out at length with their bellies upon the ground ; and while two men hold them, a third striketh violently with a great knotted rope upon their buttocks, which oft-times teareth off the skin, and large pieces of flesh with it. I have seen more than once, how that after such whipping they have been forced to make deep incisions, which degenerating into ulcers, render these unhappy wretches incapable of working for a long time.

When one of the coupled slaves hath business in the town, they permit him to go thither, even without his companion, if he desireth it, paying a guard, who may follow him every where. In that case he is forced to carry his chain alone, and as it is very long, he layeth it over his shoulder, letting it hang down before or behind, as himself shall find most convenient.

C H A P. XXXVI.

I presented divers petitions to the Inquisition to obtain my liberty, which was at last granted to me.

THE day after my arrival in the galley, I was shaved, cloathed, and employed in labour as the other slaves ; but how laborious soever this manner of life was to me,

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the liberty of seeing and speaking to the whole world, rendered it much less troublesome to me than the horrible solicitudes of the Inquisition. According to the terms of my sentence, I was to pass five years in this severe slavery, and there was no great appearance, that any favour would be shewed to a man, who had spoken against the integrity and infallibility of the *Holy Office*. Nevertheless the desire, which all unhappy persons naturally have to see their misery ended, made me think of some means to recover my liberty much sooner than I was otherwise probably to expect it. I first enquired, whether there were any *French* at *Lisbon*, who might serve me in the design which I had. And having learned, that Mr. —— first Physician to the Queen of *Portugal*, was not only favoured by that Princess, but also by all the Grandees of the Court, I addressed myself to him, and begged of him, that he would grant me his protection : This he did in the most obliging manner in the world, offering not only his interest in all things, which lay in his power, but also his purse and his table, where he did me the honour to give me a place, chained as I was, whenever liberty of going to him was granted me ; so that the habit of a gally-slave rendered me not more contemptible in his esteem. He had also the goodness to visit me in prison, and administer comfort to me, whenever his affairs permitted him.

I writ in the next place into *France*, to my kindred, to give them an account of the deplorable condition, whereinto I had been for a long time reduced, that they might sollicit, either by themselves, or by others, those persons, whom they might imagine to have interest with the Queen of *Portugal*, who, I hoped, would interpose in my behalf. I must not here omit, that the liberty, which was afterwards granted to me, was no other than the effect of the powerful protection of Mr. —— In effect, Mr. ——, who was naturally generous and benificial, knowing, that he had the goodness to interest himself in obtaining my liberty, redoubled his diligence, to cause it to be obtained the sooner. I presented, by his advice, an ample petition to the Inquisitors, wherein I briefly declared the causes of my imprisonment, and requested them to moderate the excessive severity, which I pretended to have been exercised against me in the *Indies*.

No answer was returned to this petition, no more than to three or four others, which followed it in less than two months ; and the reason of this silence was, That the office

office of the Inquisitor-General was then vacant, and Monsieur *Don Verissimo d'Alencanstra*, Archbishop of *Braga*, afterwards Archbishop of *Lisbon*, and at present Cardinal, having been but lately promoted, had not yet taken possession.

This Prelate, for whose coming I made continual vows, as knowing that he alone could determine my business, arrived at last at *Lisbon*, towards the Holy Week : But since in that time the Tribunals are not open, I was yet forced to have patience till after *Quasimodo Sunday*. As soon as the Inquisitor-General had entered upon the functions of his office, I presented a new petition to him, which was carried to the Supreme Council ; but all that it produced, was, that *Don Verissimo* said, That he could not believe, that what I related was true, there being no appearance, that they would have condemned a man to serve five years in the gallies for matters of so little consequence.

This answer, of which an account was given to me, produced so much the more joy in me, because every one assured me, that the Prelate, with whom I had to do, was equally noble, learned and generous : all this induced me to cause a new petition to be presented to him, to intreat him to give himself the trouble to read my process, that so he might, by that means, perceive, that I had offered nothing to him, but what was most true. This proposition met with great difficulties in the Council, none of them being willing to consent to this review of my process, which I desired, because all the Tribunals of the Inquisition being supreme, and no appeal laying from one to the other, this would be to intrench upon the authority of the Inquisition of *Goa*, and to go about to reform its decrees ; this was so great an obstacle, that I had never obtained my desires, if the Inquisitor-General had not strongly solicited in favour of me.

At last, after many earnest addresses to him, he suffered himself to be overswayed by the solicitations of divers persons of quality, and chiefly of his niece, the Countess of *Figueiro*, who had a very particular esteem for the first Physician of the Queen. He carried then my process to be read at length in his presence, and being convinced, that I had proposed nothing false to him, and withal, perceiving the injustice and ignorance of my Judges, who had condemned me upon pretence of my ill intention, he ordered, that I should be restored to perfect liberty, writing with his own hand these words, at the bottom of my last petition,

Sei

Sei solto como pede, e seva por a Franca, that is, Let him be set at liberty, as he desireth, and let him return to France.

C H A P. XXXVII.

My departure from Lisbon, and arrival in France.

MY request being thus answered by the Inquisitor-General, in the Supreme Council, which is assembled from eight to eight, or from fifteen to fifteen days, was remitted to the table of the Holy Office, where audience is held twice every day. These gentlemen immediately sent a familiar to advertize me, that liberty was granted me; that I should seek for a vessel to go into France, and give notice of it to the Inquisition, who would not fail to imbark me therein.

I received this news the first of June, with a joy, which persons, who have not suffered captivity, will scarce be able to conceive; but afterwards reflecting upon the difficulty of finding a vessel, and bargaining for my passage, while I had not the liberty of acting, I represented to the Inquisitors by a memorial, which I caused to be presented to them, that it would be impossible for me to receive any benefit from the favour they had shewed to me, while I remained chained, there being no possibility in so great a town as Lisbon, to know what ships come in, or go out of the haven, unless a man waits there himself, or hath some friend, who might inform himself with diligence.

The officers of the ordinary Council, who had maliciously and rigorously interpreted the general words, which the Inquisitor made use of to grant me liberty, in saying I should be set at liberty, as I desired, to go into France, explained these latter words, which were indeed added as a surplusage of favour to me, as an absolute obligation of immediately embarking myself; and so made answer for my memorial, That they would grant me my desire, on condition, I would give caution, and procure sureties, that I would stay no longer at Lisbon than was necessary to obtain an opportunity of being gone. This answer was signified to me the 28th of June: I went immediately to give an account to Mr. —— and intreated him to finish that matter, which he had so kindly begun. Some urgent affairs hindered him from going the same day to the Inquisition; but going thither the 30th of the same month in the morning, and giving caution for me, that in default of my being gone at the first opportunity, he would pay four

hundred

hundred crowns ; they sent in the afternoon of the same day, being the last of June, 1677, a familiar to the galley, who caused my irons to be taken off, and carried me to the Holy Office ; where being called in the presence of the Inquisitors, they asked, whether I knew the Queen's Physician. They told me, he had given caution for me ; that themselves extended their favour to me ; and that from that moment I might go whither I pleased : Then commanding me to withdraw, I answered only with a profound reverence, and was immediately freed from the tyrannical power of the Holy Office, under the rigour of which I had groaned almost four years, continuing from the day of my imprisonment, August the 24th, 1673, to the last of June, 1677.

As soon as I had set foot out of this terrible house, I went into the next Church, to render thanks to God and the Holy Virgin, for the liberty I had just now obtained. I went in the next place to Mr. —, who wept for joy, embracing me. I then took a turn to the galley, to give my last adieu to those poor afflicted persons, who had been the companions of my misfortune ; and to take away that little luggage which remained to me. I enquired with all possible diligence, when any ship would depart for France, having much greater desire to be gone, that so I might get out of the jurisdiction of the Inquisitors, than they could have for my departure. I found one in a short time, upon which I embarked ; and after having passed through some slight fatigues, I had the happiness to arrive in my country in perfect health.

C H A P, XXXVIII.

The history of a gentleman, which will serve to shew the spirit of the Holy Office.

I WILL finish this discourse of the Inquisition with the relation of what I know to have happened to two persons, whom I saw in the galley at Lisbon, who were there before me, and remained there, when I came out, and with whom I had particular discourses, upon the account of my own, and their cases.

The first of these unfortunate gentlemen bore the office of Major of a regiment, when he was apprehended ; he was of the race of new Christians, and was accused to have Judaized, by persons, who in all probability had no other means to save their lives than by confessing themselves guilty

guilty of the same crime, and naming many innocents, endeavouring to find out the witnesses, whom they were obliged to guess at by the Inquisition ; this poor officer thus accused, was seized, and shut up in the prisons of the Holy Office ; he was examined divers times to learn from his own mouth the cause of his imprisonment, but he not being able to tell it, since he knew it not himself, after he had been kept more than two years, they let him know that he was legally accused and convicted of being an Apostate Jew, which he always stoutly denied, protesting, that he had never ceased to be a Christian, and submitted to none of all those accusations wherewith he was charged ; nothing was omitted to oblige him to confess, not only life, but also the restitution of his goods were promised to him ; he was afterwards terrified with the threatening of a cruel death ; but none of all these things could shake his constancy. And he boldly declared to his Judges, that he would choose rather to die innocent, than to preserve his life by an act of cowardice, which would for ever overwhelm him with infamy. The Duke of *De Aveira*, who was then Inquisitor-General, and passionately desired to save the life of this prisoner, vehemently exhorting him to make use of those means, which were offered to him, of preserving himself from execution. And because the accused person had testified a constant resolution of never yielding to render himself infamous, by a base confession of those crimes, which he had never committed, the Inquisitor-General offended with his seeming obstinacy, was transported so far, as to say to him, *Cuides que aves de ganhar ?* that is, What do you then pretend to ? Do you think, that we have belied you ? And so withdrew, leaving to the prisoner to think at leisure what he had to do. The words of this Judge include a very strange sense, and may justly give occasion to reflections, which are neither advantageous to him nor to the *Holy Office*, for this was very near as if he should say, We will rather cause you to be burnt as guilty, than let the world believe, that we have imprisoned you innocent.

At last, the Act of Faith approaching, after more than three years imprisonment, our Major heard the sentence of death pronounced against him ; and a Confessor was given to him to prepare for it. This gentleman, who had hitherto appeared so resolute, was terrified by the approaches and preparation of his execution : so that having the evening before the ceremony, acknowledged all which was

desired of him against himself, however false ; he appeared at the procession vested with one of those Samarra's covered with fire, whose flames tend downward, which is called in Portuguese, *fogo revolto* ; to shew that by his confession, however late, he had avoided death, after he had been justly condemned to it ; and by sentence of the Inquisition, beside the confiscation of his goods, he was condemned to the gallies for five years.

He had then served there more than two years when I arrived at *Lisbon* ; and it was in that place, and from his own mouth, that I learned what I have now related.

C H A P. XXXIX.

A Gentleman, one of the greatest Quality in *Portugal*, who was a *New Christian*, and very rich, named *Lewis Pecoadessa*, having intermeddled in divers criminal causes, but in the *Laick Judicature*, had thereby contracted the hatred of many persons. These finding no better means to revenge themselves of him, accused him to the *Holy Office*, as making a secret profession of Judaism, together with his family ; so that on the same day, his wife, his two children, his daughter, and some others of his, who dwell with him in his house, were arrested, and shut up in the prison of the Inquisition of *Coimbra*.

Lewis Pecoa was first examined, to draw from him a particular account of his goods, of which the immoveable alone yielded thirty thousand livres rent ; and all this, as well as the moveables, was buried in the treasures of the *Holy Office*. They urged him in the next place, to declare the cause of his imprisonment, which he could not do, knowing nothing of it. All ways were attempted, which the Inquisition is wont to make use of, to oblige accused persons to confess their crimes ; but all this shook not the constancy of *Lewis Pecoa*. At last, almost three years being elapsed, the Promoter signified to him the crimes, whereof he was accused, and the sentence of death, which would be passed upon him, if he resolved not to confess. He endeavoured to justify himself, protested all the facts, whereof he was accused, were so many falsities ; desired he might know his witnesses, who had deposed against him, whom he undertook easily to convict of perjury ; and offered many arguments to his Judges, whereby they might have clearly perceived his innocence, if they would have made use of them. But the Inquisitors, without having

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any respect to what he alledged in his own defence, seeing him to persist in denying the accusation, condemned him to the fire, and acquainted him with his formal sentence fifteen days before the execution.

The Duke of Cadaval, who loved *Lewis Pecoa*, to whom he had been godfather, and who was an intimate friend of the Duke d' Aveira, informed himself from time to time of all particulars concerning the condition of the prisoner's case; and knowing from the Inquisitor-General, that the prisoner confessing nothing, and being otherwise sufficiently convicted, according to the maxims of the *Holy Office*, could not escape the fire, if he accused not himself before his being carried forth to execution, was infinitely concerned for him. He desired leave to speak or write to this unfortunate gentleman, to persuade him to save his life at any price whatsoever; but this was not possible. At last he bethought himself of an invention, which is so singular, that it never happened to any other in *Portugal*; which was to gain a promise from the Inquisitor-General, that if he could persuade *Lewis Pecoa* to confess, even after his being carried forth to execution at the *Act of Faith*, he should not be put to death; altho' this was directly contrary to the laws of the *Holy Office*. This being promised to him; and he knowing the day, wherein the *Act of Faith* was to be celebrated at *Coimbra*, he sent from *Lisbon* some of his own friends, and others of *Lewis Pecoa*, who posted themselves at the door of the Inquisition, when the procession began, that they might approach to their unhappy friend, as soon as they should see him appear.

As he was condemned, so the pile of wood was made ready for him. He bore a *Carrocha* and a *Samarra* covered with flames and devils; his picture was drawn to the life, before and behind, placed upon burning fire-brands. His sentence was written at the bottom, and his Confessor walked by his side: his friends had no sooner spied him, but breaking out into tears, they cast themselves upon his neck, and begged of him in the name of the Duke of Cadavalle, and by all that was most dear to him, to think of saving his life. They acquainted him with the assurance, which they had received, that he should not be executed, if he would confess; and remonstrated to him, that the loss of his estate ought not to create any difficulty in him, since the Duke, who had sent them to him, had charged them to assure him in his name, that he would bestow upon him more than was taken from him. All these reasons,

Sons, together with the tears and sollicitations of his generous friends, could not move *Lewis Pecoa*; who continued to protest with a loud voice, that he had always been a Christian; that he would die such; and that all, whereof he had been accused, were so many falsities invented by his enemies to take revenge upon him, and make use of the *Holy Office* to reap the spoil of his estate.

The procession being arrived at the appointed place, the sermon was preached; the proces of those, whose lives were saved, was read, and the evening being come, they began to read the proces of those who were to be burned: The Deputies of the Duke then redoubled their entreaties, and at last made their friend consent to demand audience. He rose up, and said, Let us go then, and acknowledge these falsities, to satisfy the desire of our friends. Audience was granted unto him, and he was led back into prison. But the *Act of Faith* being finished, when they called him to the Table to confess, he had much more difficulty to resolve himself; and was divers times upon the point of suffering his sentence to be confirmed, without any hope of mercy: yet at last he confessed what they would, and signed his confession.

Two years more being elapsed from the time of his being carried forth to execution, he was sent to *Evora*; where he appeared in the *Act of Faith*, wearing a *Samarra*, with the fire inverted: And after he had stay'd five years in the prison of the *Holy Office*, he was farther condemned to the gallies for five years, and was sent thither the morrow after: And there it was that I knew him, and learned from him the particulars of that, which I have here related.

This unfortunate gentleman, who appeared to be a very honest and good Christian, learnt after his enlargement, that his wife and daughter died in prison, a little while after they had been shut up; and that his two sons, less constant than himself, having accused themselves in time, had been enlarged some time before, and condemned to a banishment for ten years into the *Algarves*. As for himself, he expected only the moment to be freed, as I was; and his design was to quit *Portugal* as soon as possible, and go spend the rest of his life in some country, where the Inquisition had no place.

F I N I S.

